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CONTENTS

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NOTICE TO READERS: • indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

People's Assembly Continues Discussion *[ATA]* 1
Alia Elected President by People's Assembly *[ATA]* 1
Alia's Acceptance Speech to People's Assembly *[Tirana Radio]* 2
President Alia Discusses Goals for Nation *[Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA 21 Apr]* 3

BULGARIA

President Zhelev's 21 Apr Law, Order Address *[DEMOKRATSIYA 22 Apr]* 5
Prime Minister Popov Visits NATO Headquarters *[BTA]* 6
Popov Meets EC Officials in Brussels *[BTA]* 6
BSP Calls For Investigation of Files Leak *[DUMA 23 Apr]* 7
BSP Poll on Party Image Reported *[BTA]* 8
Trade, Accounting Agreement Signed With Poland *[BTA]* 8
Experts Invited To Testify at Chernobyl Trial *[BTA]* 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Receives Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister *[CTK]* 9
Draft Currency Treaty Initialed With USSR *[Prague Radio]* 9
Havel, Politicians Resume Talks on Constitution *[Prague Radio]* 9
New Poll Surveys Views on State Arrangement *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 25 Apr]* 9
Federal Assembly Discusses Security Service *[Prague TV]* 9
Spokesman Clarifies Sudeten German Demands *[CTK]* 10
Dienstbier on Visit to Central Slovakia *[Prague Radio]* 10
Carnogursky Comments on State Treaty, Strikes *[Bratislava Radio]* 10
Gal: Split 'Brought Relief to Both Sides' *[CTK]* 12
Gal on VPN Differences With New Platform *[Prague TV]* 12
For Democratic Slovakia Elects Governing Body *[CTK]* 12
ZDS Issues Appeal to Slovak National Council *[Prague Radio]* 13
Citizens Protest, Strike in Support of Meciar *[Bratislava PRAVDA 26 Apr, etc.]* 13
Press Views Slovak Political Crisis *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 25 Apr, etc.]* 14
Communist Meeting Participants Attacked *[Prague Radio]* 16
Pithart on Interviewed on Current Issues *[Prague Radio]* 16
Commentary Views Relations Between OF Factions *[Divis in RUDE PRAVO 23 Apr]* 17

HUNGARY

Prime Minister, Justice Minister Answer Questions *[Budapest TV]* 18
Antall Discusses Media Control Issues *[Budapest Radio]* 20
Antall Sees 'No Room' for Pozsgay's Movement *[NEPSZAVA 22 Apr]* 21
Goncz Says Nation Not Interested in NATO *[MTI]* 21
'Military Expert' on Nuclear Weapons in Country *[NEPSZABADSAG 23 Apr]* 22
MSZP Chairman Horn on Suggested Refugee Policy *[MAGYAR NEMZET 24 Apr]* 22
New Border Crossings With Austria To Open *[Budapest Radio]* 23

POLAND

Walesa Interviewed on Current Issues *[Warsaw TV]* 24
Spokesman: Walesa 'Behind' Current Government *[Warsaw Radio]* 26
Walesa Meets Military Officers on Budget Cuts *[PAP]* 26
Bielecki Receives Japanese Dietmen *[PAP]* 27
Solidarity National Body on USSR Contacts *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 24 Apr]* 27
Lodz Solidarity: Change Policy or Resign *[GLOS PORANNY 19 Apr]* 27
Poll Says Citizens More Optimistic About Economy *[PAP]* 28
Wroclaw Paper Interviews OPZZ' Miodowicz *[SLOWO POLSKIE 24 Apr]* 28
Trade Unionists Commemorate May Day *[Warsaw Radio]* 29

ROMANIA

Newly Appointed Ministers Comment on Mission *[ROMPRES]* 30
New Government Members Make Statements *[ROMPRES]* 30
Statement by Rejected Nominee Dinu Patriciu *[ROMPRES]* 30
Baltazar on Reasons for Rejection of Nominees *[ROMPRES]* 30
Ecologist Movement Protests Government Reshuffle *[ROMPRES]* 31
Press Reaction to Government Reshuffle *[ROMPRES]* 31
Baltazar on Unemployment, Moldovan Students *[ROMPRES]* 31
Roman Appoints New Timis County Prefect *[ROMPRES]* 32
Timisoara Trade Unions Organize Rally 30 Apr *[ROMPRES]* 32
Civic Alliance Holds Rally in Constanta *[ROMPRES]* 32
Industrial Production Reportedly 'Declining' *[ROMPRES]* 33
Manzatu Favors National, Social Reconciliation *[ROMPRES]* 33
Government Spokesman on Privatization Process *[ROMPRES]* 33
Split in Social Democratic Party Explained *[ROMANIA LIBERA 20 Apr]* 34
Article Calls For 'United Opposition' *[DREPTATEA 18 Apr]* 35
Stanculescu on Domestic, Foreign Issues *[ROMANIA LIBERA 18 Apr]* 36
Trial of Former Communists Resumes in Bucharest *[ROMPRES]* 39
Civic Alliance Opposes USSR Treaty Ratification *[ROMANIA LIBERA 26 Apr]* 39
Foreign Minister, CSFR Counterpart Hold Talks *[ROMPRES]* 40
Officials React to Manescu's Budapest Visit *[Budapest NEPSZABADSAG 26 Apr]* 40
Trade Minister Fota on EEC Cooperation *[ROMPRES]* 41
Neagu Visits EEC, Asks About 'Adherence' *[ROMPRES]* 41
Foreign Trade Figures: Imports Up, Exports Down *[ROMPRES]* 41

YUGOSLAVIA

Presidents Fail To Reach Accord on Referendum *[TANJUG]* 43
People's Army Statement Denies Leadership Split *[TANJUG]* 43
Bosanska Krajina Leader Comments on Program *[TANJUG]* 43
Tudjman Claims Plans Mark Him For Assassination *[TANJUG]* 44
Banja Luka Joins Community of Municipalities *[TANJUG]* 44
Army Still Stationed in Knin Area *[Belgrade Radio]* 44
Croatia Reportedly Plans Purchasing 100 Tanks *[TANJUG]* 44
Croatian-Run Police Station Formed in Oklaj *[TANJUG]* 45
Croatia Interior Ministry, Military Discuss Plans *[TANJUG]* 45
Kijevo Residents Remain at Police Station *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Croatian Council Assails Army, Notes Demands *[Zagreb Radio]* 45
Croatia Plans To Form Foreign Exchange Market *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 26 Apr]* 46
Croatian Government Rejects Draft Federal Bills *[TANJUG]* 46
Croatian Town Urges National Salvation Government *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Zagreb Assembly Demands Army Return to Barracks *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Mayor of Split Visits Kijevo *[Zagreb Radio]* 46
Armed Groups in Brsadin After Ethnic Clash *[Zagreb Radio]* 47
Reports of Overnight Disturbances in Zadar *[TANJUG]* 47
Army Tanks, Croat Police Remain in Plitvice *[Belgrade Radio]* 47
Croatian News Agency Chief Appointed *[TANJUG]* 47
SDS To Proceed With May Day 'Peace' March *[TANJUG]* 47

Serbian Radical Leader on Strategy, Party Unity *[POLITIKA 22 Apr]* 48
Aleksandar Prlja Appointed POLITIKA Editor *[POLITIKA 27 Apr]* 48
Belgrade TU Council Warns Serbian Government *[TANJUG]* 48
Markovic, Slovenia's Peterle Meet in Ljubljana *[TANJUG]* 49
Paper Examines Slovene Secession Options *[BORBA 23 Apr]* 49
Gligorov Views Outcome of Ohrid Summit *[BORBA 25 Apr]* 50
Montenegro's Bulatovic on Country's Future *[NOVA MAKEDONIJA 20 Apr]* 51
Montenegrin Parties Sign Sovereignty Declaration *[VJESNIK 20 Apr]* 53
Bosnia Census Shows Muslims Increasing *[TANJUG]* 53
Muslim Council Wants State in Balkans *[BORBA 19 Apr]* 53
Socialist Party Leaders View Balkan Cooperation *[Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI 19-20 Apr]* 53
National Debt Currently $16.017 Billion *[BORBA 23 Apr]* 54

People's Assembly Continues Discussion

AU3004130391 Tirana ATA in English 0813 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 30 (ATA)—The discussion of the articles regarding the supreme organs of the state administration continued in the sitting of the People's Assembly on April 29, at 10.00 hrs.

During this sitting the last 9 articles were discussed and approved.

At the afternoon sitting, which opened at 17.00, the last 5 provisions were discusssed.

The last sitting started at 21.10. The deputies discussed on the formula of taking the oath on the part of the President of the Republic of Albania. They agreed that a group of deputies compile it on the basis of variants proposed there and forward it for approval on April 30.

Then "The Law on the Main Constitutional Provisions of the Republic of Albania" was then discussed and adopted.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, informed the deputies that on the suggestion of the presidencies of three parliamentary groups, a resolution has been worked out on the problem of Kosovo.

The deputies approved it unanimously. At this the proceedings of this day came to an end.

The People's Assembly continues proceedings.

Alia Elected President by People's Assembly

AU3004193391 Tirana ATA in English 1833 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Tirana, April 30 (ATA)—On April 30 the People's Assembly continued its proceedings at 9:00 before noon.

The deputies unanimously approved the text of the oath of the President of the Republic of Albania drafted by a working group on the basis of suggestions and opinions of deputies at the April 29 sitting.

Likewise, they decided to create a special commission for drafting the constitution. The composition and tasks of this commission will be defined by the Presidency of the People's Assembly, together with the three parliamentary groups.

Then the deputies passed on the second point of the agenda: The election of the Head of State.

In regard to this the floor was taken by Deputy Xhelil Gjoni, who on behalf of over 30 deputies of the Parliament, submitted the proposal for the seat for the president of the republic. After reading the names of deputies, he said that it is an honor and pleasure for me on behalf of them to appeal to the Parliament to elect Comrade Ramiz Alia in this duty of historic responsibility.

Comrade Ramiz Alia, said Deputy Xhelil Gjoni, is the most outstanding political personality of our country. He enjoys an indisputable popularity at home and world wide affirmation. We all have had the opportunity to observe his maturity, wisdom, coolness, and democratic spirit in solving the delicate and complex situations we have come across, features which are so much indispensable for a leader, for a head of state.

The recent democratic developments, Deputy Xhelil Gjoni said, are a natural and objective tendency of the Albanian history, they are a deed of all the people, but the role of Ramiz Alia in these developments has been great.

We need such a figure for the future, too. It is the guarantee of social peace and tranquility, the hope of coming out of the heavy situation and expression of the people's unity.

In conclusion, he invited the deputies to approve unanimously the candidature put forward.

Then the floor was taken by deputy Ahmet Kamberi, who on behalf of 31 deputies proposed as candidate for president of the republic of Albania, the deputy Namik Dokle.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, read out the statements of the two candidates put forward, who agreed with the proposal to be elected as President of the Republic of Albania.

Then contributions were made on these two candidatures.

In their contributions deputies of the Albanian Workers Party pointed out that Ramiz Alia is the most outstanding political figure in our country, initiator of the democratic processes, who in delicate moments has tried to prevent massive social clashes in society, avoiding such events as those occurring in any country of Eastern Europe. They voiced their conviction that Ramiz Alia will make efforts that the Albanian reality open the way to civilization.

Deputies of the Democratic Party considered Ramiz Alia's attitude during this period of time as one-sided and from party positions, the reforms he launched as delayed and little effective. They said that Ramiz Alia should detach from the past, should act quickly, without wavering in handling the progressive, should disassociate himself from the pressure of conservatism.

The debate being over, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, announced the composition of the voting commission composed of 7 deputies of the three parliamentary groups.

After the secret ballot and the tallying of the votes, the chairman of the voting commission, Omonia's deputy, Panajot Barka, announced: The voting commission set up in the first session of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly, at the end of the voting organized to elect the President of the Republic of Albania, having opened the ballot box and tallied the polls one by one observed that 245 deputies equal to 98 per cent of the deputies to the

People's Assembly took part in the voting. There were 174 valid votes. Out of them 172 votes or 68.8 per cent are in favour of the candidate for President, Ramiz Alia. Two votes, equal to 0.8 per cent, are in favor of the candidate for President, Namik Dokle. There were 71 invalid votes, equal to 28.4 per cent.

To this end, the voting commission, according to the Law No. 7491 "On the Main Constitutional Provisions" considers this voting valid and proved the election of Ramiz Alia President of the Republic of Albania, having won over two thirds of the votes of the deputies of the 12th legislature of the People's Assembly..

In the solemn sitting, the deputies raised on foot applauded when the president, Ramiz Alia, accompanied by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, entered the hall.

President Ramiz Alia took the oath: "I swear solemnly on my honor, for loyalty to the people and homeland, to the ideals of freedom and progress, independence, and territorial inviolability of Albania. I swear to observe the Constitution and the laws of my country, to defend and promote democracy, the human freedoms and rights, and to fulfill willingly and consciously all the duties as President of the Republic of Albania. I swear."

The deputies standing sang the National Anthem.

President Ramiz Alia held a speech.

The chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Kastriot Islami, thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for this speech and wished him success as head of our democratic state, for the benefit of the people and the progress of the homeland.

At this, today's proceedings wound up. The Assembly will continue its proceedings on May 3, 1991, at 10:00 hrs.

Alia's Acceptance Speech to People's Assembly

AU0105160991 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Speech by President Ramiz Alia to the People's Assembly in Tirana on 30 April—recorded]

[Text] Honorable chairman, honorable deputies, members of the diplomatic corps, dear friends and guests.

The People's Assembly has entrusted me with a duty of great responsibility before the people and the homeland, the Constitution, and the State. I thank you for this. Your trust imposes a great obligation on me: to always be guided by the sacred interests of the people, to devote all my energies to this sublime task, to put all that is worthy in my person in the service of the homeland, if necessary to sacrifice even my life for its benefit and progress.

I assure you that I will never lack the will, readiness, and determination in my duties, for whose successful conclusion I hope to always have your constructive assistance, as well as the support and solidarity of the people.

The first session of this legislature of the People's Assembly is permeated by the new democratic and pluralist climate created in the country following the 31 March elections. It lays the foundation stone in resolving capital questions pertaining to the future of our country and state.

The people rightly hope that the parliamentary acts that will come from this Assembly will establish order and the functioning of a civilized political life, ease the present difficulties, and revive a spirit of optimism in the future, at achieving a profound economic restructuring and an all-around reform of the entire internal and external activity of the country.

I am also filled with hope that the People's Assembly, as has been confirmed by the practice of recent days, will be transformed into a tribune of the fundamental functioning of political pluralism, of the free expression of opinions, of democratic ethics and of the tolerance that is characteristic of cultured people.

The country needs the minds, work, and contribution of everyone. Let us unite our values in its service. Let us debate freely for its benefit. Let us adopt decisions that express its will. Let us do our utmost to make the life of the people as prosperous as is possible.

Albania needed a pluralist Parliament. It needs an integrated pluralist Parliament, in which its fundamental interests converge and the people's democracy is sealed. The country's interests demand this. We are faced with a long road ahead of us. On this road we are united by the aspirations of the people, the desire to turn Albania into a country in which a progressive economy and culture, a democratic life, and a juridical state march together with one step.

Let us work together in a constructive spirit, respecting the opinions and independence of each other. We need a sound will, a spirit of understanding, and unity in order to resolve the tasks we are faced with. No political force, no state body can resolve these tasks alone.

I am speaking about the future awaiting us, not having the slightest illusion concerning the difficult moments that we are going through from the economic as well as the political viewpoints. Let us be, all of us, conscious of this. However, we do have the potential, as well as the duty, not to permit the present situation to continue further. We have an industrious and proud people who are not used to life from the toil of others, but who have always led an honest life. We have a knowledgeable people who are capable of foreseeing the trends of the time and of helping the state to direct the country along

the most auspicious road. We have a People's Assembly with a broad social basis. We have a constitutional law, which was approved yesterday and guarantees the foundations of the juridical state, the protection of the rights of individuals, and the fulfillment of social justice. We have an entire people who have the desire and the will to participate directly in the country's running and its progress.

Time offers us broader possibilities of political, social, economic, and financial cooperation with the world. All these factors constitute a great advantage in overcoming the economic crisis and the lack of confidence, in serving the all-around regeneration of society, in enlivening its inner driving force, and in refreshing the activity of the state at all levels.

Subordinating our political and ideological concepts to the interests of the people, united we will be in a position to restore normal life and to get down to the task of carrying out profound transformations and turn Albania into a country of well-being, with lofty material and moral values.

Albania has in the past and will continue to seek as close a cooperation with the world as is possible. It will build an open foreign policy. We are prepared to accept the friendship of all those who sincerely wish our people well and who have an interest in cooperating with us. There will be no prejudices and no stands in Albania's foreign policy, that go against the trends of the democratization of international relations.

At this solemn moment, I would like to express my most profound gratitude to all the Albanian people, the workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, young people, and veterans, whose confidence, support, and constant warmth have given and continue to give me strength to work tirelessly for the great cause of safeguarding the country's freedom and independence, and its all-around progress.

Long live the Albanian people. [applause]

President Alia Discusses Goals for Nation

PM3004131391 Barcelona LA VANGUARDIA in Spanish 21 Apr 91 p 14

[Interview with President Ramiz Alia by Eduardo Flores in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] It was three months ago that the author of this interview first requested a meeting with the elusive Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) secretary general and president of the republic.

Smiling, he said to me in French: "I hope that you are pleased: You are the first Spanish journalist I have received." We sat down, and a waiter immediately began to serve us dinner, and Ramiz Alia began to speak.

"I imagine that little is known about our country in Spain. Allow me, before we begin our conversation, to give some details of our history, which are essential to understand the current situation better. Albania is a country of very special characteristics: We have had a very turbulent history that goes back three millennia. We already had national liberation movements at the time of the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and gave the Turks a good many headaches. We are a warrior nation of deep-rooted traditions with a moral code perhaps unique in Europe, and our recent history also distinguishes us from the other countries that used to comprise socialist Europe, since it was we who—under Comrade Enver Hoxha's leadership—opted for our own line back at the beginning of the sixties. We were the only ones to defend our sovereignty and to force the Soviets to move out of the bases they had set up on our territory. Later Albania was the only country to quit the Warsaw Pact after the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. These are the 'positive facts.' Of course, it must also be said that the fact that our country's liberation from German occupation in 1944 was down to the Albanians facilitated a line of our own, because the liberation was paid for with Albanian blood, without the military assistance of any foreign force. We are proud of this, and it is this course that has guided us in our policy. That is why, at this time of real crisis, the most important thing is to maintain national unity and the defense of our sovereignty."

[Flores] Why do you place such emphasis on the defense of Albanian sovereignty? Who wants to attack your country?

[Alia] It is not a matter of there being specific plans to attack Albania, but we should not forget that Albania is a small and relatively underpopulated country which is in the Balkans, in a historically strife-ridden area, and which is right now experiencing the gravest economic and social crisis in its history. That is why I believe that we cannot ignore the possibility that there are forces interested in maintaining the situation of tension and even intervening in our internal affairs, to thus distract international attention from their own problems.

[Flores] Are you referring to Yugoslavia?

[Alia] It would not be wise to say that it is a matter of this or that country, but I repeat to you: There are forces interested in destabilizing the Balkans politically, and this is a very dangerous game.

[Flores] Not long ago you mentioned at a news conference the need to make "radical changes" in the Communist Party. What is the motivation for these changes?

[Alia] It is very simple: We are in 1991, not 1944 (date of the liberation of Albania), or in 1968 (invasion of Czechoslovakia), or in 1985 (death of Enver Hoxha and Gorbachev's accession to power). It is necessary to adjust to the new situation; we must transform the AWP so that it can meet the requirements of the new historical situation, and to this end we will, of course, have to

annul some of the theses which have proved to be obsolete and which no longer meet the current historical requirements. Some have already been removed from our program, such as the principle that there can only be one kind of ownership ("social ownership"), the "class struggle," "the party's leading role in all areas of life," and so forth. If we want a modern Albania, we must accomplish this by bringing our stances closer to those of the European socialist parties. The path toward political integration into Europe requires the modernization of our party. The AWP is the largest Albanian party, and I am certain that not just today but in the future it will continue to play a decisive role in our country's life.

[Flores] In Albania there is already an opposition to the Communists, de facto and de jure. It is a totally new factor. How is your party facing the challenge of the new situation in which there is no longer an absolute and uncontrolled power?

[Alia] Before answering you, I want to stress that the most important thing is Albania's national unity and sovereignty. The most important thing now is to contribute to national development and not to cling to a policy of mere continuity. Times have changed, and those who do not accept this fact are irresponsible.

[Flores] It is an open secret that there are forces within the AWP that question the party's current reorientation. There are even those who describe the current leaders as traitors to Enver Hoxha's political line.

[Alia] Yes, I know, but I believe that our party has great reserves, and those who are nostalgic are not the majority. In any event, all this will be decided at the congress called for the end of May. For my part, I believe that I have performed the historical role that fell to me: It is not those who are nostalgic now but the historians of the next century who will have to judge me.

[Flores] What will be left of Marxism-Leninism, and the "Enver Hoxha line?"

[Alia] Marxism-Leninism has been the spirit guiding our steps for the past 50 years but—I repeat—the current situation is very different from that which existed when Marxist theory was formulated. As far as Enver Hoxha's legacy is concerned, of course there are matters that will have to be reappraised, but in general I believe that there are many aspects of his work which are still valid.

[Flores] Which, for instance?

[Alia] For instance, the thesis concerning the defense of national sovereignty and the priority of national unity over any other issue.

[Flores] One last question: You are accused of throwing away decisive historic opportunities and of missing the chance to become an "Albanian Gorbachev."

[Alia] The Soviet Union is one thing, and Albania is another. The USSR has produced one kind of leader, but Albania needs another kind of people, of a different character. That is why I told you earlier that Albania is a country with special characteristics and with specific problems to which specific answers must also be given. We must give Albania the program it needs in order to develop and to thrive under the conditions of democracy, which we must all now learn. We must also learn from each other. I am referring to the opposition: Albania is a country that has never had in history a democracy of several parties and where political pluralism was unknown. Hence the tensions and the steepness of the path. However, the Albanians are tenacious people and will pull the country through.

President Zhelev's 21 Apr Law, Order Address

AU3004091991 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 22 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

[Report on address delivered by President Zhelyu Zhelev on 21 April; place not given: "The President Appeals to the National Assembly and the Government"]

[Text] The aspiration of the state leadership to avoid the use of force in settling situations of conflict, various kinds of controversies, and tensions in our public life, and not to mobilize the forces of law and order, but to seek political solutions through dialogue and compromise seem to have prompted some people and some political circles to draw erroneous conclusions about the weakness of the authorities. Moreover, it seems to create the impression that lawlessness prevails in our country and that people are free to do anything and remain unpunished. This is what President Zhelyu Zhelev declared in his address on Bulgarian Television last night.

It is a dangerous delusion to think so because such a conviction may trigger an escalation of tension, under given circumstances, and produce tragic results. The state services, despite specific law-based requirements, do not act with the necessary firmness and resolve in maintaining law and order and in defending citizens' rights. Such behavior encourages legal offenses and criminality as a result of which the crime rate has rapidly increased and criminals are becoming increasingly aggressive. We are already confronted with the first manifestations of organized and even armed crime, the president pointed out.

The police force, which is in charge of combating crime, justifies itself by pointing out the current absence of a law, explaining that the new police law has not yet been adopted by the Grand National Assembly. Nevertheless, this cannot be regarded as a justified argument considering that the law that is still force provides every opportunity to effectively combat crime. Nevertheless, even the current law should be universally known and correctly applied, President Zhelev stated.

I do not deny the need for a new police law that is likely to provide a full and comprehensive settlement of the police forces' activities and status under the conditions of a democratic society, and I will personally insist that the police law should be the first bill to be submitted to the Grand National Assembly's plenary session, after the legislature has accomplished its main task [namely, adopting the new constitution].

Nevertheless, let us not try to justify ourselves by attributing the fault to a missing law.

The police forces, namely the depoliticized police forces, which are expected to protect the law, need the moral and political support of the political forces and of the citizens.

For this reason I appeal to all citizens and political forces in the country to rise above their party interests and personal loyalties, and to firmly support the police in combating crime and in protecting the law. I urge the government to provide the necessary financial resources for the modernization of the police forces' equipment and of all their facilities, which should happen even before the new law has been passed.

The passive attitude of the Prosecutor's Office in certain cases also contributes to the delusion about the alleged lawlessness and impunity prevailing in our country in dealing with legal offenses. There have already been two cases of personal files published in contradiction with the law. So far, no one has considered it necessary to hold the individuals who violated a state secret responsible. Personal files represent a state secret and they can be opened only by authorization based on a resolution of the Grand National Assembly, or with the specific consent of the individual concerned, and after the minister of internal affairs has officially confirmed that the opening of the file in question does not affect the country's national security. In contradiction with the Constitution and the laws of the country, unauthorized rallies and public demonstrations of organizations that are not registered by the law courts are nevertheless allowed to take place. This is particularly objectionable when organizations are involved whose objectives are directed against the Bulgarian people's national unity and the country's territorial integrity.

The National Assembly, whose fruitful activities represent an important factor of stability in the country's political life, should realize that disruptions in its work are likely to transform the National Assembly into a destabilizing factor, into a source of tension that would immediately affect all our society. For precisely this reason, the Grand National Assembly should strictly adhere to its program and try not to deviate from it. The three economic bills, which were already passed at first reading, and the privatization law, which should be submitted to the plenum as soon as possible, in addition to the Constitution, should be the legislature's main concern. No other draft laws, declarations, or statements should be included in the agenda as long as the Grand National Assembly has not accomplished its main task for which it was elected.

It is not my intention that the leadership of the Grand National Assembly and the esteemed members of the National Assembly should accept my words as an attempt to lecture, or as issuing orders that they are expected to obey. I have no such ambitions, and I am fully aware of my prerogatives and their limitations. My address should be regarded rather as an expression of concern in facing the danger that threatens the legislature.

The government's tendency to postpone its work also involves considerable danger. The delays in adopting a code of regulations for the Land Law can only be described as shocking. Despite numerous pledges by the government that the code would soon be released for publication and made accessible to the people, who are awaiting it with increasing impatience, the code continues to circulate among various

departments and commissions. This situation makes the people diffident by increasing their misgivings that the delays may be deliberate.

I recall this fact because it prompted a dangerous social and political escalation of tension, which should be entirely attributed to the government. Innumerable additional, objective sources of tension exist in our country, that we are unfortunately incapable of eliminating. Therefore we can hardly afford to increase tension in our country on such an important issue as the Land Law by our own negligence, or bureaucratic tardiness.

In addition to civic peace, several other conditions are urgently required in Bulgaria: In the first place, the adoption of basic economic legislation, as I already mentioned, is a necessity. In the second place we need a prompt adoption of the country's new democratic constitution. In the third place, new legislative elections, likely to alleviate the present political tension existing between the National Assembly and the civic society, are abolsutely required.

I am convinced that with goodwill and joint efforts we will achieve these goals.

Prime Minister Popov Visits NATO Headquarters

AU3004202591 Sofia BTA in English 1940 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Brussels, April 30 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Prime Minister Dimitur Popov is satisfied and optimistic after the talks he had today with NATO's Secretary General, Mr. Manfred Woerner, and with the 16 permanent representatives of the NATO member-nations. "Now I am convinced that the NATO member-nations and the organization as a whole want to be Bulgaria's good friends and support its development," Mr. Popov said after the meetings.

Mr. Dimitur Popov is the first Bulgarian prime minister who has ever visited NATO and the last of the top officials of the new democracies in Eastern Europe to set foot in its headquarters.

"This was a very important meeting," Mr. Woerner stated in his turn and pointed out that NATO is interested in maintaining good friendly relations with all member-countries of the former Warsaw Pact.

Mr. Woerner shares Bulgaria's stand on the need of providing all nations in Europe, the USSR included, with an equal security status.

The general secretary of NATO is looking forward to his first visit to Bulgaria this June. "We are interested in building a new security architecture in Europe in which Bulgaria, as an old European state, will occupy an important place," he said.

Mr. Popov shared the view that it is impossible to seek security through concluding regional military treaties, as this would create opposing military structures.

According to some sources, the prime minister thinks that if a treaty is signed with the Soviet Union, it could hinder Bulgaria's admittance to membership in the European Communities.

Bulgaria has no claims for membership in NATO but is expecting closer contacts for guaranteeing her security and the inviolability of her borders, especially after the disintegration of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, Mr. Popov told Bulgarian journalists.

The Bulgarian prime minister told Mr. Woerner that Bulgaria's presence in Europe cannot be limited to the spheres of economy and culture only, the country's presence should include the military sphere as well. The cooperation between Bulgaria and NATO will include permanent representation, inspections and training of Bulgarian officers according to NATO standards.

NATO let it be understood that the weapons supplied to Turkey and Greece will not be used in the region, they are designed for the strategic military purposes of the organization only.

At the informal meeting Mr. Dimitur Popov had with Mr. Wilfried Martens, prime minister of Belgium, the two sides discussed some problems of the two countries' cooperation. It was agreed that Mr. Martens will visit Bulgaria this summer.

The Bulgarian prime minister had talks with representatives of the Belgian Federation of Enterprises who were familiarized with Bulgaria's economic and financial situation and with the progress of the reforms. Mr. Popov motivated the need of an urgent influx of foreign capital. Belgian bankers expressed their readiness to finance Belgian exports to Bulgaria and to seek some acceptable solution to the problem of Bulgaria's foreign debt.

Popov Meets EC Officials in Brussels

AU3004094591 Sofia BTA in English 2226 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Brussels, April 29 (BTA)—Mr. Dimitur Popov, prime minister of Bulgaria, today began his first visit to Brussels. At a news conference after the official talks he had with Mr. Jacques Delors, president of the Commission of the European Communities, it became clear that the EC was firmly resolved to help Bulgaria implement its difficult economic reform.

Mr. Frans Andriessen, vice president of the Commission of the European Communities, said that negotiations would be opened shortly on Bulgaria's association with the EC and that provided the reforms in Bulgaria were

successfully implemented, association would be achieved very soon. He did not commit himself to a definite date but suggested it might be this summer. Asked whether the EC viewed Bulgaria in a different way than countries like Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia, Mr. Frans Andriessen said that the program for Bulgaria would be different because the country was at a different level of development.

Mr. Dimitur Popov announced he had been assured by Mr. Jacques Delors that the EC did not divide the European countries into small and large but recognized their equal right to become part of united Europe. The European communities were following closely the economic and political reforms in Bulgaria. Today Bulgaria's prime minister familiarized Mr. Jacques Delors with the economic and the political situation in Bulgaria. Mr. Popov stressed Bulgaria's desire to establish a tangible presence in the European institutions. The European communities are impressed by the resolve of the Bulgarian government to carry through the sweeping reforms. The EC is ready to help along their implementation, that is why it has decided to take over half of the 1991 investment earmarked for Bulgaria by the G-24. Both Bulgaria and the EC expressed their satisfaction and optimism.

On behalf of the Bulgarian government Mr. Dimitur Popov extended an invitation to Mr. Jacques Delors to visit Bulgaria. Mr. Delors said that although his schedule was very busy, he would do his best to go to Bulgaria.

At the end of the news conference Mr. Dimitur Popov said that the results of his meeting with Mr. Jacques Delors were favorable for Bulgaria, Mr. Frans Andriessen added that the meeting gave Bulgarian-EC relations a new start.

BSP Calls For Investigation of Files Leak

AU3004140791 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 23 Apr 91 pp 1, 2

["Declaration of the BSP Supreme Council Presidium and Leadership of BSP Legislative Group;" place and date not given]

[Text] Recently, many newspapers, radio, and television media have more frequently and irresponsibly been violating the Law on State Secrets. An active campaign is being conducted with various excuses being presented. It aims at discrediting the basic state institutions—the Grand National Assembly, Presidency, and government. Today's publication in FAKS of a list of names cited in the report of the commission that investigated the personal files of the people's deputies is the most drastic expression of that tendency.

The political forces that are afraid of the conclusion of the commission on the personal files are interested in discrediting that commission. It is no accident that the initiators of the commission, members of the Union of the Democratic Forces [SDS], who expected that the commission's conclusions would deal a strong political blow to the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP], today assume a completely different position and try to belittle or distort those conclusions.

Already when the first violations of the Law on State Secrets took place—the publication of documents related to Mr. Petur Beron and Mr. Konstantin Trenchev and lists of various ministries' employees—the leadership of the BSP and its legislative faction expressed their alarm and appealed to the competent authorities to adopt the necessary measures and stop such actions.

Our basic position, expressed already at the beginning of the Grand National Assembly's work, was that the pages of the past must be closed rather than exploited to the detriment of present and future Bulgaria. Others insisted on reading the pages of the past.

The BSP opposes all manipulations with the issue of the personal files of the people's deputies. We want the whole truth.

We demand that the Chief Prosecutor's Office order an investigation into who leaked information about the personal files of the people's deputies to the press, and more specifically, to FAKS, and how it was done

We insist that the Chief Prosecutor's Office investigate the circumstances related to the archive of the Sixth Department of the Sixth Administration of the former State Security.

We insist that guarantees be presented by the competent authorities about the fact that the commission has received complete and reliable information.

We insist that the state and judicial services adopt all necessary measures to stop violations of the Law on Secrets, regardless of the violators' political interests and affiliation. The publications of such a nature in FAKS, REPORTER-7, 24 CHASA, and DEBATI, and various radio and television programs objectively lead toward discrediting the services of national security and public order, undermine confidence in the state institutions, and damage the country's international prestige. An atmosphere of political instability, legal impunity, and irresponsibility is deliberately created.

We think that it is inadmissible to generally attack the security and public order services citing the excuse of struggling against the condemned practice of the political police from the period before 10 November 1989. Those services are a necessary guarantee of the existence of every rule-of-law state. They exist in the most democratic countries within the framework of the law and under appropriate public control. However, even in those countries the attempts to discredit them, are considered an attempt against the national security.

The campaign related to the personal files is another attempt to destabilize the work of the Grand National Assembly at a time when it has begun to discuss the new

constitution and the basic economic laws. We condemn the attempt to turn this campaign into another obstacle to the Grand National Assembly's lofty mission.

BSP Poll on Party Image Reported

AU3004144891 Sofia BTA in English 1354 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 30 (BTA)—The majority of the national electorate considers the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] the more honest political force, according to a sociological survey conducted by the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist (ex-Communist) Party.

Furthermore, the UDF has the greater and more genuine democrats. The economic policy of the opposition is considered more realistic.

The results of the survey were released today at the regular briefing of the Socialist Party (BSP) but concrete numbers were not announced in connection with the survey.

The BSP has finished its debolshevization, according to the survey. Bulgarian Socialists have come to recognize the equality of all kinds of property.

The exact number of BSP members was announced to be 501,793. One in three is either a worker or a peasant.

Trade, Accounting Agreement Signed With Poland

AU2904211791 Sofia BTA in English 2024 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 29 (BTA)—Two documents laying down terms for a transition to accounting in U.S. dollars from rubles as of the beginning of 1991 were signed today here by Mr. Ivan Pushkarov, Bulgaria's minister of industry, trade and services, and Mr. Dariusz Ledworowski, Poland's minister of foreign economic cooperation.

By signing an agreement on trade and payments Bulgaria and Poland grant each other a most-favoured-nation status and leave companies to negotiate the terms of their transactions.

A protocol was also signed which settles trade balances in transferable rubles. At the end of last year Bulgaria had a 608 million transferable-ruble deficit with Poland, which will be covered by industrial trucks exports, tourist services and consumer goods. Bulgaria and Poland signed contracts for 75 million rubles and there are offers for another 150 million, a knowledgeable governmental source told BTA. Poland will probably use part of its surplus with Bulgaria to maintain its diplomatic missions in Sofia, to reinvest in the Bulgarian tourist industry and in other fields.

Experts Invited To Testify at Chernobyl Trial

AU3004162591 Sofia BTA in English 1520 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Sofia, April 30 (BTA)—Three expert commissions are to finally clarify what the radiation level in Bulgaria was after the Chernobyl incident and whether top-level decisions on the protection of the population were adequate. "If the experts decide categorically that the defendants in the Chernobyl case did not jeopardize the Bulgarians' health and life, the prosecution will have to drop its charges," prosecutrix Milka Boyadzhieva told BTA, not concealing the fact that she finds it very unlikely.

According to Ms. Boyadzhieva who appears for the prosecution at the trial of Grigor Stoichkov (former chairman of the Governmental Commission for Management of Natural Disasters and Major Industrial Accidents) and Lyubomir Shindarov (former sanitary inspector general), there are circumstances which will hardly be clarified. The prosecutrix believes that the major question is whether only Stoichkov and Shindarov should be held responsible for the charges brought against them. "But neither the defendants want to tell the truth, nor would anyone else commit themselves to a categorical answer," she said. According to her the investigating authorities have tried to find all other real culprits.

The trial will probably not be able to prove that the inadequate radiation protection measures can be the prime cause of the future harmful aftereffects on people's life and health predicted by scientists. "A single case of disease resulting from the inefficient measures in the wake of the Chernobyl accident will suffice to redefine the charge and initiate new proceedings," Ms. Milka Boyadzhieva said.

Havel Receives Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister

LD2604224891 Prague CTK in English 1713 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 26 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Kvitsinskiy discussed here today issues linked with the future European setup and a planned Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty.

Kvitsinskiy attended the two-day international conference "The Future of European security", which ended here today.

Draft Currency Treaty Initialed With USSR

LD3004160891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Representatives of the state banks of the CSFR and the Soviet Union have initialed a draft treaty on the use of national currencies in mutual trade. The treaty makes it possible for economic subjects of both countries to use in mutual trade relations—after mutual agreement—rubles or korunas and thus overcome the problems of both sides in obtaining freely convertible currencies. The treaty is one of the temporary ways out of the present critical situation in mutual trade between the CSFR and the Soviet Union.

Havel, Politicians Resume Talks on Constitution

LD3004115291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Stanislav Benda report from Prague Castle]

[Text] Good afternoon. It could be said that today the third round of the second level of talks between President Vaclav Havel and political representatives is under way. The first level of talks were at Vikarka. Mr. President himself said at a briefing yesterday that he could see a serious, positive move toward a result. Today, [Federal Prime Minister] Marian Calfa; [Federal Deputy Prime Minister] Pavel Rychetsky; Zdenek Jicinsky [first deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly]; Rudolf Battek [deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly, chairman of the Chamber of the People]; and Milan Sutovec [deputy chairman of the Federal Assembly; chairman of the Chamber of Nations], are present. In other words, two representatives of the Federal Government and three representatives of the Federal Assembly. Mr. Calfa told me before the talks basically the same that Vaclav Klaus told me last week; that is, that he could not imagine the division between the problems of the federation and those of the republics. I asked him whether he would use his advantage of being informed about the results of the talks with the Slovak and Czech political representations. So I do not have to quote everything, I will now let you listen to a recording of his opinion before the talks started.

[Begin Calfa recording, in Slovak] I base my view on the fact that the priority—we have to take it as it is—lies in the republics. We will strive to retain on the federal level those things that should be common for the two republics, that should be done together, and that would preserve the continuity of the Czechoslovak Republic since the time it was founded. Our Republic is bound by a great number of mutual relations, mutual agreements with foreign countries, and it is not quite possible to simply abandon this system [instrumentarium]. We have to take it very seriously. [end recording]

Prime Minister Calfa, like Zdenek Jicinsky, welcomes this initiative of the president, and they believe there will be a good result. The president's press spokesman, Michael Zantovsky, promised me that he would release more information on the course of the discussion later. The talks will probably last about three hours.

New Poll Surveys Views on State Arrangement

AU0105110091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 25 Apr 91 p 3

[CTK report: "For Federation"]

[Text] A public opinion survey conducted in late March and early April has shown that the subject of Czechoslovak statehood continues to be of great interest. A federal arrangement is preferred by 31 percent and a uniform state with a single government by 30 percent of Czechoslovak citizens. A union-type arrangement [spolkove usporadani] is favored by 18 percent, a confederation by 10 percent, and division into two independent states by 8 percent of respondents.

Supporters of a uniform state (40 percent) and of the federation (32 percent) are dominant in Bohemia, and supporters of a union-type arrangement (34 percent) and of a uniform state (32 percent) are dominant in Moravia and Silesia. In Slovakia, the federation has the largest number of advocates (34 percent), but support for a confederation (22 percent) and for independence (17 percent) is not marginal either. In the event of a referendum, 86 percent of Czech Republic citizens and 62 percent of Slovak Republic citizens would vote in favor of their republic's staying in the federation.

Federal Assembly Discusses Security Service

LD3004213991 Prague Federal Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] The joint meeting of the two Federal Assembly chambers scheduled in May has 25 points on its agenda. One of the most important ones is the law on the Federal Information Service. It was discussed today by the Defense and Security Committees. The director of the Federal Information Service and the federal interior minister were present at the session.

Jiri Miller, former director of the Institute for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy and

Czech National Council deputy, summarized the development of the ideas about our secret service. Despite the original proclamation about the need for the Federal Information Service to be independent of the government and accountable to parliament, the secret service is directly dependent on the government. One of the important intelligence tools [sledovani] was transferred from the Federal Information Service to the Interior Ministry. Today there are as many as five institutions that can use intelligence devices, said Jiri Miller.

Deputy Peter Uhl supported him with a proposition that a Federal Information Service coordinator should have the right to have intelligence devices at his disposal.

Jiri Novotny, director of the Federal Information Service, explained that the surveillance service [sledovaci sluzba] is composed predominantly of former members of the state security bodies and therefore it is hardly appropriate for monitoring the activity of foreign intelligence units on our territory. Therefore, about 700 of its workers were dismissed from the Federal Information Service. However, they can be employed by the Interior Ministry in the fight against economic crime, for example.

The discussion on the bill will continue next week.

Spokesman Clarifies Sudeten German Demands

AU3004132491 Prague CTK in English 2225 GMT 25 Apr 91

[Text] Prague April 25 (CTK)— Sudeten German Landsmannschaft Spokesman Franz Neubauer told journalists here today he does not insist on the enumeration of his claims on Czechoslovakia in the prepared Czechoslovak-German Treaty on Good Neighborly Relations and Friendly Cooperation.

Neubauer said his Landsmannschaft, with about 100,000 members, demands that the future treaty should include a clause to the effect that both sides agree to set up a mixed Czechoslovak-German commission which will deal, without any time pressure, with mutual property or other claims.

Neubauer corrected the recent statement by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier that the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft does not demand restitution of property owned by Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia before their transfer to Germany after World War II. Neubauer said the assertion did not correspond to the facts and claimed that the decrees issued in 1945 by President Edvard Benes, which ordered the transfer of the Sudeten Germans and the expropriation of their possessions, were "contrary to international law."

Neubauer proposed a "pragmatic approach" especially to the restitution of land, i.e. the restitution would not concern those present private owners of land who acquired it bona fides while land now owned by the Czechoslovak state should be returned to the Sudeten Germans.

Asked about the so-called zero solution, i.e. that Czechoslovakia would give up its claims for damage caused by the German occupation (1939-45) and the Sudeten Germans would withdraw their property claims, Neubauer said the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft does not want to interfere in the development of mutual Czechoslovak-German negotiations. "We want a solution acceptable to both sides.... However, we cannot give up the right to our homeland (Heimat)," he added.

Dienstbier on Visit to Central Slovakia

LD0105105891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0200 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister, said at a meeting with journalists yesterday that his working visit to Central Slovakia is an opportunity to learn directly about people's problems and feelings. I believe, he said, that it was a useful dialogue and not a monologue falling on deaf ears. He also stressed the fact that his visit is not connected with changes in the Slovak Government.

When asked what he has managed to achieve during his visit to the United States specifically for the benefit of enterprises hit by the conversion, Jiri Dienstbier replied that some political reservations and barriers have been removed and ways toward further talks between the ministries of trade and economy have been opened.

Jiri Dienstbier will travel to Uherski Hrdiste today.

Carnogursky Comments on State Treaty, Strikes

LD3004120691 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1707 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Bohus Gecy report on news conference by Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky with unidentified reporters in Bratislava on 29 April—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] As we have already reported, following today's session of the government, Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky met journalists. Our colleague, Bohus Gecy, recorded his answers to the most interesting questions:

[Gecy] Today's news conference after the deliberations of the Slovak Government was in fact the first one with Jan Carnogursky since his appointment as the new prime minister. No wonder that the first round of questions, and there were many of them, were addressed mostly to him. As we are short on time, we have chosen only a few responses to be broadcast.

Our colleague from HLAS LUDU noted that in Bohemia not many people agree with a state treaty. He asked whether Jan Carnogursky is going to look for a compromise or defend the original proposal.

[Carnogursky] "I think that the points you make are no longer valid, because Czech politicians as well as the Czech press voice views and arguments that allow the possibility of a state treaty. As far as the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] is concerned, it is possible to say that KDH insists on a state treaty and will continue to insist on it. I would like to point out, however, that I am saying this as KDH chiarman and not as Slovak Government prime minister, because it makes a difference.

"After all, even President Havel after the last discussions in Lany used the term a legal act, in addition to the constitutions. In fact, this is the reason behind the misunderstanding between myself and Mr. Zantovsky. After all, a legal act is a wider term than the term a state treaty, but a state treaty is at the same time a legal act. This means that when the president introduced in the discussion the notion that there was a possibility of a legal act, I did not oppose it, as the term a legal act also includes a state treaty.

"In my view, our positions have come closer on this issue. Now what is probably going to be discussed is the content of a state treaty, that is, the range of powers.

"In this context, I would like to mention at least briefly that Petr Pithart, prime minister of the Czech Government, delivered a speech in Cheb on 6 April. This speech was not published in the press. Only a short report on it was published. In his speech, Petr Pithart spoke about the range of powers to be delegated by the republics to the federation. In his view, these are inevitable to enable the federation to function.

"I can only say that following discussions with experts, including economic experts—and not just KDH members—I consider the extent of powers as outlined by Petr Pithart, as far as economic powers are concerned, to be too wide.

[Gecy] A reporter from PRACE daily noted that Jan Carnogursky was the first to speak in Slovakia in March about an independent Slovakia. The reporter asked him what the next course of action will be if a state treaty is not adopted, and will there be an independent state.

[Carnogursky] "You are right that sometime in March or April of last year I publicly voiced the idea that Slovakia would like to act independently, as an independent subject in the future European integration. It is possible that I also used the expression an independent state, meaning this kind of prospect and classification. This is what I still mean."

[Gecy] A number of journalists asked about statements made by former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar during the last few days. A colleague from VYBER asked him how the new government intends to confront the general strike that is being discussed and may take place on 6 May.

[Carnogursky] "My view is that I accepted my appointment under the circumstances of there being no other way out. I continue to understand my tasks in my post in this way.

"On Friday I met representatives of the metal industry, the most important industry. You heard, read, and saw that we achieved a solution that is acceptable in the present situation. This solution should be respected by both sides.

"The general agreement has been concluded. This agreement binds the government to introduce a minimum wage and to increase wages, but it also binds the trade unions to avoid strikes providing that the general agreement is not broken. This means that if a general strike takes place on 6 May, then the strikers will be in breach of the general agreement.

"My concept is that my government will stick to the principle that it is necessary to observe agreement.

"There is one more aspect here concerning the arms industry. On Friday we spoke about it and it was accepted by all the participants in talks. In the present situation, the Federal Government is prepared to release money for embarking on peace production programs—I repeat, for embarking on peace production programs —on the basis of projects proposed by enterprises themselves. There are more projects than the number that will be chosen in the final selection. Those selected will be given money. Besides technological aspects, these programs demand appropriate conditions to allow their implementation. The fundamental condition is social peace.

"It is hard for me to imagine that such demanding projects—and all of them are demanding—could be embarked upon under strike conditions."

[Gecy] When Jan Carnogursky held the post of first deputy prime minister, he was also the chairman of the government's commission on mass media. That is why he was asked by a representative of NARODNA OBRODA whether the commission is going to continue to work, who will chair it, and whether, in the context of political changes carried out during the last few days, any changes in the management of Slovak television and radio are being prepared.

[Carnogursky] "Yes, the commission is going to continue its work under the leadership of my successor. Regarding the changes in the management of Slovak radio and television, a bill on radio and television is already on the agenda of the Slovak National Council [SNR]. Once this bill is adopted, the Radio Council and Television Council will be partly appointed and partly elected. These councils have the power to propose candidates for the post of a radio director and television director, who will then be installed by the SNR Presidium. This means if the councils use this power, then it will be their decision."

Gal: Split 'Brought Relief to Both Sides'

AU3004131291 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 28 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 28 (CTK)— Fedor Gal, leader of the Public Against Violence (VPN), said today that Saturday's legitimate split of this Slovak civic movement into the VPN and VPN-For Democratic Slovakia (ZDS) of former Premier Vladimir Meciar "brought relief to both sides."

Gal said that in his opinion in two-three years the political scene in Slovakia will be more stable.

Gal commented on Meciar's statement to journalists that early elections are the only possibility in the present situation in Slovakia. (Regular elections would take place in June 1992.) Gal described calls for early elections as "politically shortsighted and harmful to society." Meciar apparently acts on the basis of public opinion polls which clearly speak about his victory. "However, can we build democracy by calling parliamentary elections every time one politician or another is at the top of popularity?... Has the new government had the chance to prove its competence and quality?," Gal asked.

Gal is heading the VPN which has been given a 4 percent support in recent opinion polls, against 30 percent for Meciar's ZDS. The original VPN won just under 30 percent in the elections to the Slovak parliament in June 1990.

The VPN lost the post of Slovak premier when Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) was appointed to the position by the Slovak parliament Presidium last Tuesday. The Presidium said the government under Meciar was not functional. As premier, Meciar stressed that Slovakia has specific features which require slower pace of the economic reform and greater attention to social policies than in the larger Czech Republic.

Asked about "the feelings of a politician who cannot walk freely in the streets" Gal implicitly confirmed harassment of his family by people in Slovakia and indicated that he might accept an invitation from the University of London to work there as a sociologist.

Gal on VPN Differences With New Platform

LD3004101891 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 2028 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Interview with Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement, by unidentified reporter in Prague on 29 April—live; Gal speaks in Slovak]

[Excerpts] Fedor Gal, chairman of the Slovak Council of Public Against Violence [VPN], held a succession of meetings in Prague today with the representatives of the Civic Democratic Party, Civic Movement, and Civic Democratic Alliance. I now welcome Fedor Gal to our studio. Good evening.

Mr. Chairman, can you tell us the difference between the VPN and the VPN-For Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform? It is said that the only point on which they agree is that they wish to part company.

[Gal] There are many differences. I would like to mention three that I regard as very important not only for our movement, but also for the Slovak public and for our entire federation. The first difference is that ZDS announced that our election policy is its own policy, but at the same time it placed itself in a position of constructive opposition. I cannot imagine how one policy can be implemented simultaneously by the government and by the opposition. This appears paradoxical to me.

The second difference is in the understanding of political stability in our country. Vladimir Meciar, but not just him, announced on behalf of the ZDS the intention to aim for early parliamentary elections. This is an important but unsatisfactory decision, for it will neither speed up the economic reform nor promote the tackling of people's everyday problems.

The third and very important difference is that we do not agree on the way in which we will assert our political interests. The ZDS is not willing to accede to an agreement that we should proceed in a constitutional and parliamentary way and that it would be beneficial to no one to bring about political strikes now. These are the three very important political differences between us.

[Reporter] Mr. Gal, I would like to ask you a more general question. What is the cause, in your view, of the enormous differences between views and reactions of the citizens of the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic? This cannot be caused purely by some specific national features. We are well aware of the fact that the flow of information is different in these two parts of the Republic.

[Gal] Opinion polls clearly show that in Slovakia the atmosphere is more against reform than it is in Bohemia and Moravia. Slovakia also has a different view on a constitutional setup. I think this is caused above all by the way everyday policy has been carried out in the last few weeks and months. The feeling of uncertainty, distrust, and alarm felt by the people in Slovakia is really very strong. It is strengthened by the fact that the starting conditions in Slovakia are more difficult, more complicated. It is also caused by the fact that the notion of some kind of an enemy is being introduced into people's thinking. This is important in my view. It is as if it is not us who are supposed to tackle our problems by ourselves, using our own resources, but as if there is somebody else here who steals from us, who makes it more difficult for us, who does not wish us well. This is one of the ways to prevent people from having a clear idea about the real state of affairs.

The truth is that during the last year there has been an increase in the number of people who believe that the best way to organize things in our country would be an independent state. They now amount to over 20 percent, while a year ago they amounted to just 6 percent. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Mr. Gal, I would like to point out that the VPN won the parliamentary elections, but now it has surrendered power to the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. What, in your view, is the reason that the developments in Slovakia have reached this state?

[Gal] I would like to say only this: First, I think that the post of prime minister of the Slovak Republic, in other words, the executive power, was handed over to the KDH by the split of the Public Against Violence movement. The split is represented for me by those who caused this dispute—the For Democratic Slovakia platform.

I will be more specific, but I do not like using insider's information, as it is very dangerous. On the other hand, I think that our public has the right to know everything. The fact is that before the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar from the post of Slovak Government prime minister, he offered the post to Jan Carnogursky. He did so twice, once in the presence of Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak legislature. This is a matter of principle. In a parliamentary democracy posts, are not passed from hand to hand, as this is being decided by other mechanisms.

For Democratic Slovakia Elects Governing Body

LD3004212191 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bratislava April 30 (CTK)—The organising committee of former Premier Meciar's Public Against Violence (VPN) Platform for Democratic Slovakia (ZDS) today elected a 17-member political body which is to represent the ZDS until its constituent congress.

Meciar was elected its chairman.

The ZDS and the original VPN officially split last Saturday. The VPN preserved its original status of a movement and the ZDS announced it will constitute itself and register as a party or movement within two months.

The ZDS governing body will be authorised to negotiate with the state authorities, parties, movements and organisations.

The 17 members include Milan Knazko and Augustin Marian Huska, who were recalled from their respective posts of Slovak external relations minister and minister of privatisation together with Meciar a week ago. Two other members are Minister for Economy Strategy Rudolf Filkus and Finance Minister Michal Kovac, both of whom submitted resignations which were rejected by the parliament.

The organising committee noted in a statement that strikes were being prepared in Slovakia following the replacement of Meciar as premier by Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Chairman Jan Carnogursky and said that the ZDS gave no impulse for such strikes. It urged the parliament "to prevent further escalation of the political situation.'

ZDS Issues Appeal to Slovak National Council

LD0105083491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0100 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] The enlarged organizational committee of the For Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] movement in a statement issued yesterday said the 13th session of the the Slovak National Council did not respect the views, petitions, and rallies of hundreds of thousands of citizens of Slovakia. According to a statement by the the Slovak National Council, deputies, by the gross violation of democratic principles, created a complex and tense situation throughout Slovakia, which now is moving toward planned strikes. The ZDS and its representatives are not the impetus for the organization of strikes. The ZDS organizational committee appeals to the Slovak National Council to fulfill the justified demands of voters and to prevent a worsening of the political situation.

Citizens Protest, Strike in Support of Meciar

AU3004180691

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 April on pages 1 and 2 and Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 27 April on page 2 publish reports on the dissatisfaction of Slovak citizens with the decision by the Slovak National Council Presidium on recalling Prime Minister Meciar from his post.

The PRAVDA "PA+CTK"-signed 1,000-word report entitled "Presidium Cooked, the Nation Refuses To Eat," reports on a petition by the coal miners from Prievidza expressing their support for Meciar and demanding that the Slovak National Council Presidium resign. Similar sentiments are evinced, according to the report, in a statement by workers of the Heavy Engineering Works in Dubnica nad Vahom, and by student parliament representatives of three faculties of the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava (Civil, Electrical, and Chemical Engineering), as well as by the trade unionists from the truck factory VAB in Banovce nad Bebravou (membership of 5,400). The report quotes a statement by the last named as saying that they subscribe to the appeal by the employees of the Slovak National Uprising Works in Ziar nad Hronom for a general strike in Slovakia as of 6 May. The report lists several companies whose trade unions decided to join the planned strike; namely, ZDA Partizanske, Bosany tannery, Elektrokarbon and OZETA of Topolcany, VAB Banovce nad Bebravou, Topolcany District Road Administration, meatpackers, State Tractor Center, and others.

In addition, the report names the Social Democratic Youth of Slovakia (SDMS) as objecting to the method used in dealing with the government crisis, and the students of the Evangelical Faculty of Theology at the Comenius University of Bratislava as protesting against the recall of Meciar and other government members. Moreover, according to the report, thousands of inhabitants of Velky Krtis and the surrounding area signed petitions supporting Meciar, and they were joined by the staff of Dolina mine and of Pleta enterprise, and by the population of Lucenec and Rimska Sobota districts. Sirens and horns were blown in protest in Martin, Banska Bystrica, and other cities of Central Slovakia. The railroad workers' trade union appealed to its 99,000 members to join in the protests. Furthermore, the article reports on a joint statement by the Farmers' Party of Slovakia, Slovak National Party, Party of the Democratic Left, Freedom Party, Green Party, and Public Against Violence-For Democratic Slovakia [VPN-ZDS] platform rejecting the action taken by the Slovak National Council Presidium. These parties also organized a demonstration in Kosice where, according to the report, approximately 3,000 citizens demanded early legislative elections.

The "jsl"-signed 700-word report in NARODNA OBRODA is entitled "Slovakia Keeps Moving." It discloses information on demonstrations of 5,000 citizens in Bardejov and of 8,000 in Presov. Former Minister Knazko, Minister Filkus, and other members of the VPN-ZDS are reported to have taken part in them. The protesting Slovak trade unionists were joined by those of other enterprises; for instance, TEXICOM Ruzomberok, Clara Utekac, Tatrasvit in Svit, Nitra Slovak Agricultural Library, and Smreciny Banska Bystrica. Moreover, Tesla Orava, Sigma Zavadka, Sverma Iron Works Podbrezova, ZVT Banska Bystrica, and other companies accepted the appeal for a general strike. In addition, the report continues, the Slovak miners' trade union in Handlova announced a 15-minute warning strike for 600 on Monday (29 April), and other warning strikes are expected. The report closes with an observation: "Slovakia is moving and it is difficult to predict under what circumstances it will calm down...."

Press Views Slovak Political Crisis

AU0105100091

[Editorial Report] Czech and Slovak newspapers on 25 and 26 April continue to publish commentaries on the political situation in Slovakia following the dismissal on 23 April of Vladimir Meciar from the post of prime minister and his replacement by Jan Carnogursky. Most commentators express skepticism as to whether the Slovak Government reshuffle can help resolve the Slovak political crisis. Of the commentaries available thus far, the following are worth noting:

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 25 April on page 2 carries a 600-word Martin Komarek commentary entitled "Good Luck, Slovakia!" Komarek deals with the Czech reaction to the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar. He says: "Rejoicing at Vladimir Meciar's recall would be absolutely inappropriate. Unfortunately, in a tactically mistaken move, one leading Czech male politician and one leading Czech female politician commented on his recall precisely in this spirit on 23 April." Komarek believes that there is no reason to rejoice as "the premature departure of a prime minister is always sad because it indicates that there is something rotten in politics." Moreover, he is convinced that "the crisis in Slovakia has not ended but, rather, is only starting."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 25 April on pages 1 and 16 carries a 600-word Jan Urban report on the 24 April meeting of the Slovak National Council entitled "Split Slovakia." According to Urban, this session, particularly the passing of a vote of no confidence in Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak, showed that the newly formed Slovak Government is a "minority government" because Meciar's For a Democratic Slovakia [ZDS] platform, together with Slovak Communists and the Slovak National Party, can "block any decision." He asks whether, given the correlation of forces in the Slovak National Council, the new government will be given a chance to work.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 April on page 1 carries a 300-word Vladimir Divis commentary entitled "Absurd Or Logical?" Divis says that, since 23 April, "there is another reason to call our country Absurdistan, for one could hardly find in Europe a democratic state in which a prime minister would be recalled from office who can rely on the support of an incredible 90 percent of the Slovaks who were questioned." Divis doubts whether this step can "contribute to political stability in the country" and advocates early elections as a way to overcome the present "impasse."

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 26 April on page 2 carries a 500-word Ivo Slavik commentary entitled "The Prime Minister's Failure?" Slavik views the Slovak National Council's vote of no confidence in Deputy Prime Minister Kucerak as "a signal of weak legislative support for the new Slovak Government" and as "Jan Carnogursky's first defeat as prime minister." By ousting Kucerak, Slavik says, the "parliamentary plenum cast doubt on the continuity and integrity [celistvost] of economic reform."

In another commentary on Kucerak's departure from the Slovak Government, published on the same page of Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES, Jiri Leschtina writes that "it marks the death of radical reform in Slovakia." Leschtina warns against "illusions" about the attitude of Jan Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] toward economic reform. As he points out, the KDH's "alternative scenario of economic reform" foresees a budget deficit, more extensive price regulation, and a separate Slovak bank of issue. Leschtina agrees with the assessment of Daniel Kroupa, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance, that the KDH's "reservations about economic reform are alarming" and that

their nature is such that "they could jeopardize the further existence of the federation." Leschtina says that, in view of "the rejection of rapid transformation" in Slovakia, "Prague politicians must now consider all variants of saving the process of transformation in the Czech lands."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 26 April on page 3 carries an 800-word Jiri Hanak commentary entitled "Slovak Orwell." Like Leschtina, Hanak cautions against illusions that the new Slovak Government's economic policy will differ from Vladimir Meciar's policy. According to the author, the fact that Vladimir Meciar is no longer at the head of the Slovak Government "does not mean that the chances of sailing through the waves of the reform on softer cushions will no longer be sought." Hanak expects even Carnogursky to seek "the specifically velvet appearance of reform" in Slovakia and "not to be deaf to the calls for exceptions." The "sacrificing of Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Kucerak—an economist who never had illusions about how exceptions, softening [the reform], and similar experiments would affect the reform process—already suggests something," according to Hanak.

In conclusion, Hanak warns: "Meciar has not left. That is an illusion. He will be even more dangerous when in opposition."

Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech on 26 April on page 1 carries a 500-word Petr Novacek commentary entitled "Meciar's Magic Destroyed." Novacek compares the present Slovak political crisis with the Slovak political crisis of autumn 1947 when Gustav Husak, "relying on support 'from the people,' defiled parliamentary democracy" and enforced the formation of a new Slovak Government. Although Novacek concedes that "Meciar is no Husak," he detects in him "the same tendency to deal with the situation by extraparliamentary means" and to use the "gullible, manipulable, democratically inexperienced crowd" to further his aims.

Novacek also ponders the possible impact of the expected definitive split in the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] at the assembly in Kosice. He says that the definitive departure of the ZDS platform from the VPN would "throw into doubt the mandate of the VPN at all levels, which could be the decisive step toward early parliamentary elections." Because of the VPN's strong representation in the Federal Government and the Federal Assembly, Novacek finds it hard to imagine that, if early elections were held, they could be limited to Slovakia.

In another part of his commentary, Novacek says that giving the Slovak prime minister's seat to the KDH in contravention of the 1990 election results "sets a dangerous precedent for the Czech Republic and the federation." He points out that in the Czech Republic, too, the right wing has recently been demanding more seats in the governments and legislative presidiums. In doing so, it has been "ignoring election results and using instead the argument that there has been a shift in public opinion."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 26 April on page 3 carries a 500-word Jan Fuele commentary entitled "Will Proportional Representation Reconcile Them?" The commentary deals with the demands of Meciar's ZDS platform and Slovak opposition parties for a reconstruction of the Slovak National Council Presidium. These parties believe that the present composition of the 21-member Presidium (nine VPN members, six KDH members, two Democratic Party members, and one representative each from the Party of the Democratic Left, the Slovak National Party, the Egyutteles movement, and the Green Party) "contravenes one of the fundamental principles of parliamentary democracy—proportional representation." A Slovak National Council Presidium elected on the basis of the principle of proportional representation would, according to Fuele, be composed as follows: three VPN members, two VPN-ZDS members, four KDH members, three Party of the Democratic Left members, three Slovak National Party members, one Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement member, one Egyutteles member, one Green Party member, one Hungarian Independent Initiative member, and one Democratic Party member. Fuele's division of VPN seats is based on the "estimate that 24 deputies [for the VPN] support the VPN and 19 deputies support the VPN-ZDS." Fuele is convinced that a Slovak National Council Presidium of this composition "would probably not allow the prime minister to be dismissed in the way it happened on Tuesday."

On the same day, on page 6, Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak carries a 1,200-word Jan Szelepcsenyi commentary entitled "Welcome, Fear...." The commentator deplores the recent events on the Slovak political scene, saying that they have produced nothing but "losses." First of all, he says, Slovakia has lost Prime Minister Meciar who, in spite of his "shortcomings as a man," has enjoyed people's trust and was thus able to push through even unpopular measures. Any successor "must be prepared to face the fact that any restrictive economic measure, no matter how minor, may trigger a social explosion." The second loss, the author continues, is that of Jan Carnogursky, who "commanded sizable authority" as Slovak first deputy prime minister and was "a precious complement to Meciar." Szelepcsenyi thinks that "the circumstances under which Carnogursky became prime minister may paralyze his personal influence and the functioning of the government." The third loss suffered by Slovakia, the author continues, is confidence in the Slovak National Council and its Presidium. "Presenting the legislature with a fait accompli, thus barring any possibility of democratic discussion, is not only manipulation, it is an insult to democracy and parliamentarianism," the author says. Finally, the "last and biggest loss is our loss of confidence in ourselves: We have freely elected representatives, a majority of whom are clearly unable to tackle the tasks for which we have chosen them."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 April on page 1 carries a 500-word Peter Holka commentary entitled "With Grenades in the Pub." Holka wonders who was throwing eggs and stones and who broke the doors and windows of the Slovak National Council building during the pro-Meciar demonstration on 24 April. In this connection he voices the suspicion that these acts of violence could have been perpetrated by "provocateurs from the Federal Information Service."

Communist Meeting Participants Attacked

LD3004214191 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] A meeting of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia took place in Ostrava today. Pavel Smid reports:

[Smid] Today's assembly was the largest on Masaryk Square in the center of Ostrava since November and December 1989. There were sharp verbal and even physical attacks, eggs were thrown from the crowd onto the platform, hitting even some participants behind the platform, including the innocent journalists. There were loud slogans and whistles of rejection, for example when those on the platform said that democracy is again threatened in Czechoslovakia, that the present governmental economic policy is leading enterprises to the abyss and society into a deadlock, or that it is not possible that on the path to prosperity one incapable party is replaced by another. A storm of ill-feeling on the part of those not in favor was provoked by the words of the chairman of the Communist Party, Jiri Svoboda, to the effect that the communists have the right, by virtue of the force of the half million of their voters, to take part in important talks on constitutions and other internal political affairs.

It is difficult to say what the proportion of communists was to those who came here as a result of an appeal of the Club of Involved Non-Party Members to disturb this meeting. I should say that in the democratic society for which we are striving, all the political streams should be able to honorably express their views.

Pithart on Interviewed on Current Issues

LD3004205291 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Interview with Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, last week the Czech National Council talked about the question of state administrative and territorial arrangement, that is also about Moravia. Do you think that, for the time being, the issue is closed?

[Pithart] No, I do not think that at all. All the doors are open. As to state adminstrative arrangement of the federation, the federal bodies must decide on that. The viewpoint of the Czech government, as well as the Czech National Council, is that they are given free rein. [passage omitted]

Who will decide, for example, whether there will be Moravia-Silesia or Moravia and Silesia? Will it be the government, the Czech National Council, Prague? I do not think so. In the end, things will be decided here, but this will have to be preceeded by a process. Imagine setting borders between Moravia and Silesia. This will be an exceptionally difficult task. Its final solution must somehow be negotiated by Moravia itself, if need be by Moravia and Silesia. That is why I advocate a careful approach.

[Reporter] It is becoming a rule in our conversations that we travel from Moravia in the direction of Slovakia. We shall follow the pattern today. On Saturday you met your colleague, Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky. You both described this meeting as friendly and informative. What were you informing each other about, and what did you agree on?

[Pithart] It was about how each of us sees the situation. Mr. Carnogursky took up his post only recently. He is expecting, first of all, a lot of work at home. But we also talked about Czech-Slovak relations. It is apparent to both of us that some things must become clear. In particular we have to find out, as soon as possible, whether both the economies, the Czech and the Slovak, differ, to find out what, in fact, is the Slovak specific character. Is it only a popular slogan, or is it a fact? We cannot ignore it in silence. We should therefore find out the differences and similarities, to compare the rates of privatization, the fates of the republican budgets, to find out the causes of markedly higher unemployment in Slovakia. Are these causes merely structural, or are they caused by different behavior of Slovak enterprises? How do labor offices work there, and how do they work here? There are more questions like this, and light must be thrown on them. Otherwise we would be merely reduced to journalistic polemics, and strong words would be heard on both sides. If this is clear, the atmosphere will be clear, all the three parties will feel better, the two republics and the federation.

[Reporter] What if it turns out that both economies indeed differ?

[Pithart] This could happen. It would be a sad thing. But an indisputable fact is always better than conjectures and suspicion. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] A constituent assembly of Civic Movement was held last Saturday. You were elected one of the deputy chairmen. Did you hear any new political accents? I have in mind things that did not occur at similar meetings of other political groupings.

[Pithart] In my view, the participants in this assembly strongly realized a pronounced difference between big and small policy, let us put it this way, or between Prague

and outside-Prague policy. [passage omitted] It often escapes us here in Prague that the situation outside is different. It was, for example, seen from Prague that Civic Forum must split. But it was not obvious outside Prague, in small towns. Perhaps not everywhere, but it was the case quite often. [passage omitted] At the same time, I consider the problem of so-called small democracy very important. How political life in towns will develop depends on how this is solved. But we all live in towns because we all come from somewhere and are active somewhere. That is why I consider the development of a functioning local self-administration almost as important as economic transformation. Local self-administration is the scene where small-scale local politics take place. But it is very important because the big politics of party leaders, in the long run, depend on it. This always transpires during elections. If this feedback is not working, big politics will stand on sand.

Another important idea was heard at the assembly, namely that personal relations do not belong in politics, or belong only to a certain necessary small degree. The fact that I do not like someone is not a political argument, for example, in nominating or confirming someone in his or her post. Likewise, the fact that somebody is a friend is not an argument. To be a politician means a lot of renunciation, and [words indistinct] as resolutely as possible. A politician cannot afford to follow his likes or dislikes. What is important is the view, the attitude, the ability to understand, the skill to win over the others for an idea and to enforce it.

[Reporter] From time to time, Mr. Prime Minister, we hear voices asking for early elections, both in Bohemia and in Slovakia. Who, in your opinion, really desires them?

[Pithart] I am very glad that you are asking this question. If you did not ask, I would want to force it upon you. Those who do not feel that actions should determine elections call for early elections. The earlier the elections take place, the greater the significance of words would be. Promises, promises, promises. Every week, the popularity of parties, movements, and individual personalities would be measured. But to be popular, that is a very dubious desire today. It would mean, among other things, also stopping work on the reform because reform is painful, in other words, reform is not popular. Early elections would force us all to offer ourselves to the public. The public, however, sent us during the last election to do something quite different. It sent us there to work and not to make vague promises. It is, in fact, simple. The earlier the elections the smaller possibility for work and the bigger the need for verbal exhibitionism. I am sure that our public desires verbal exhibitionism least of all.

[Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, thank you for the interview.

Commentary Views Relations Between OF Factions

AU3004142891 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Apr 91 p 1

[Vladimir Divis commentary: "Coalition Or Confrontation?"]

[Text] Following the split of the Civic Forum [OF], even the clubs of deputies of the former ruling movement have now fallen apart. What has remained of the OF wreckage? Originally, the Civic Movement (OH) and the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) were to stay in coalition, at least until the elections, through the medium of the OF Coordinating Committee. This unloved child of its parents is not doing very well, however. Since the OF divorce in February, it has met only a few times. It is reminiscent more of a bankruptcy commission than of a body on whose platform the two ruling parties should be agreeing on a joint course of action.

[Economy Minister] V. Dlouhy's call this weekend for the resignation of [Deputy Prime Minister] P. Rychetsky confirmed that the ability of the governments and legislatures to arrive at consensus is likely to continue to weaken. While three ministers of the Czech and Federal Governments profess allegiance to Vaclav Klaus's ODS, 18 of them profess allegiance to the OH. The correlation of forces in the Federal Assembly is the opposite. The ODS Deputies' Club associates 39 deputies, while only 24 deputies support the OH. This correlation of forces contains the seeds of governmental and legislative crises, all the more so as some ODS deputies have recently been speaking out against the governments—and, thereby, in fact, against the OH—far more harshly than Vaclav Klaus himself.

Politics has its own dynamics, which are often illogical. It may well happen that the tendency toward confrontation will prevail in one, the other, or even all the groups of the former OF. Then the time will really come to consider calling early elections.

Prime Minister, Justice Minister Answer Questions

LD3004231191 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1940 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Justice Minister Istvan Balsai by unidentified reporter in Budapest on 30 April—recorded; from the "Cabinet Questions" program]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] the interview you are about to see now was conducted this morning at 1120 [0920 GMT]. The reason is partly the invitation in my hand which was sent to representatives or leaders of the six parliamentary parties:

Invitation to the first meeting of the six-party coordinating talks at the initiative of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ]. The aim is to agree on the proceedings and subjects for further meetings. We ask that a maximum of three people per party participate. The meeting is today, Tuesday, 30 April at 1700.

Signed, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall.

What is this about?

[Antall] What this is about is in the invitation. What this will be about will be decided at the meeting at 1700 this afternoon.

I can only add to this that the six parties will begin discussions that will naturally either end with results or in a fiasco, but I hope with results. Within these talks today we will be deciding the form of the discussions, their procedural aspects, and the range of subjects we can place on the agenda. The six parties must decide all this jointly, otherwise the discussions can not be fruitful. I can only say that the present six-party talks are at the initiative of FIDESZ. This has been raised several times by various parties. I myself brought up several times that it would be necessary to have discussions about basic, strategically important questions. For this reason from the first minute we supported the idea. [passage omitted]

What I do, however, consider very important and would like to record is that there is no question of the revival of the earlier roundtable discussions. There can be no question of some form of substitute for parliament, or a replacement for the government's work, or something else. It was a different situation when the roundtable talks were held and the situation is different today.

Today Hungary has a legally elected parliament, president of Republic, and government. Therefore, today there is no need for an organization to supplement or substitute the legitimacy of these highest public offices. What can now be on the agenda is the parties, the parliamentary parties' positions could come closer to prepare for and primarily to speed up the work of the legislature by being in touch over certain questions. In addition, some coordination can take place on questions concerning the whole country and are fundamental and cannot be the subjects of party policy.

A good example of this is what is now happening in Germany. On the question of the eastern provinces the government and the opposition are having separate talks as well because these questions are raised very seriously there too.

[Reporter] The fact that we are greeting Minister of Justice Istvan Balsai at our conversation today suggests what the topic will be since the law on compensation is discussed everywhere in the newspapers, in conversation, and in the media. [passage omitted] It is said and written that the compensation law is unconstitutional and the prospect is raised that there will be certain consequences.

[Balsai] [passage omitted] I can state here that it is entirely constitutional and meets all the requirements stemming from the Constitution and from the earlier standpoint of the Constitutional Court in connection with it. An example is the principle of partial compensation, the time for which it is valid, the people for whom it is valid, the differt ways of regulating what is and is not land, and the differt methods of used to calculate are all issues which the constitutional court encountered when examining the proposals. The adopted law contains the same things. Therefore, there is no new element in the law since its adoption which might cast doubt on its ability to stand up to the test of constitutionality, as compared to the earlier, preliminary investigation.

[Reporter] What do you think, Mr. Minister? Why has there been such a sharp outcry against the law?

[Balsai] It was expected after the general debate and after the 485 modification proposals attached to it. What was at issue here were two, or perhaps three, entirely differing philosophies on compensation. According to one position, nothing should be given. This was represented by FIDESz. According to the second position, everyone, regardless of all previous legal titles or viewpoints, must partake in uniform citizens' assets vouchers. [passage omitted]

We, the three parties, as stated in the election program, felt that it was naturally necessary to sort out property relations. This necessitated not primarily a privatization law, but beforehand an important cardinal law which sorted out, stabilized property relations, and in the meantime somehow compensated the earlier injustices.

[Reporter] I will now highlight, from what you said, the expression—we, the three parties, felt...—Mr. Prime Minister, many people say that, properly speaking, the coalition must be kept together by all means, and this problem is reflected in the compensation law.

[Antall] Perhaps it is important to emphasize that the compensation law, as one of the most important laws of the current transformation process, cannot at all be traced back to party political or coalition-saving

motives. In this major economic transformation, including the privatization process, too, the compensation law is a basic issue, since it touches on property relations. The primary goal of this compensation law is to sort out property relations and to draw a basic line in the question of property relations. Therefore, it should not be possible for either a Hungarian or foreign investor in Hungary to query the issue of ownership rights. For this reason it was necessary to sort this out. I believe that all the political parties knew that it was necessary to sort out property relations in Hungary.

This was the first, the legal justification why we supported it so that property relations could be sorted out. The second motive was the economic one. This is not a political law but it is one jointly concerning property rights, the economy, and politics. It naturally is economic because as long as property rights and property relations are not sorted out in Hungary, it will not be possible to carry out the economic transformation in a manner which we are able to ensure a satisfactory revival. This is why it is of basic significance from an economic viewpoint.

It is significant politically because it also sets a social policy objective, including the fact that it should serve to administer historical justice, to a partial extent, as it partially serves sorting out property relations. It is necessary to say that this is a compromise law since every major transformation, properly speaking, is an attempt to join up interests. This law, in itself, set the target of joining up interests. Moreover, we attempted to bring the interests of those who suffered damage in the past in harmony with the country's ability to function, and we naturally created this while considering the elements of the past and the interests of those at present who can do nothing about it, those who did not have property. Therefore, this is not a political party law. On the other hand, these are the basic considerations and we examine party political viewpoints. We can say that the coalition is formed by three political parties in whose political programs there are basic similarities, alongside the differences. There originally were and are basic similarities. These had to be coordinated.

I always talk about what is represented by the center and main force of these political parties.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, the general view of the parties outside the coalition is that this compensation, once the law is enacted, cannot be carried out.

[Balsai] It is already a law. The arguments against its implementation really do appear everyday. I would like to say the following: More than 20, indeed 21 offices, 20 county offices, including a Budapest office as well as national office, will deal solely with this. The government has already set aside more than 100 million forints, and probably additional hundreds of millions will also be claimed. The government is ready to come up this money, amid the budget's framework. More than 100 courts are waiting, ready to take care of their affairs. The entire staff of public notaries are ready for the cases. More than 100 land offices will, obviously, arrange the affairs. Several thousands of land surveyors will smooth the path for these cases, and there will be a three-member committee in every settlement and village, where land is designated from some viewpoint. Therefore, several thousand three-member committees will facilitate the implementation of the cases. I ask: After this, who is apprehensive about whether such a large apparatus can accomplish such a not-overly complicated state task over several years?

[Reporter] Yes, well, those who are left out are the ones who are most concerned. Can it be said that everything in the official apparatus is ready for its implementation? And is society ready for this, given people's internal disposition or sense of justice? The losers and winners? [as heard]

[Balsai] A rather long and open debate was conducted on the affair. [passage omitted] I believe that there was a means and possibility to prepare so that society's former stratum of proprietors should understand that full compensation cannot be given, and so that those who were not proprietors should understand that everyone, properly speaking, should accept responsibility for the injustices caused in the past, since there is no state which is independent of everyone. The state is the entire society. We are those who suffer damage and who cause damage.

[Reporter] According to reports on the radio this morning, some sort of report has arrived from Rome saying that, in fact, there is no need for an agreement between the Holy See and Hungary for concordats are only necessary if certain questions are unsettled. According to the government stance and diplomacy, the stance of the churches and the state is peaceful regarding the issue of property. However, the situation is not that simple.

[Balsai] Naturally, this law is not that simple. Similarly, this is also a vital legislative subject, as the prime minister has already outlined. It will mean stabilizing ownership rights once and for all, with the endorsement of the parliament. I can confidentaly say that there is no tension whatsoever between the Hungarian churches, or the bench of bishops and the government. [passage omitted] However, I still think that this will create very different stances. I would not like to see a parliamentary debate of several months if 485 amendments are proposed over this. [passage omitted] Anyway, this will be an interesting chapter in parliamentary legislation, but we are prepared and there is no doubt that it corresponds with the constitution.

[Antall] There is not tension of any kind between the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian bench of bishops or between the Hungarian church and the government over real estate and property questions. Arguments and differences of opinion exist within the church just the same as they do within the political parties. There is one thing for certain: In Hungary the principle

of reprivatization cannot be enforced in the case of the churches either if the compensation law comes into force in this form or not. This is one thing we can point out. [passage omitted]

Antall Discusses Media Control Issues

LD3004164691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1247 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Statements by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Alliance of Free Democrats Deputy Miklos Haraszti in the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Duty Speaker Vince Voros] Miklos Haraszti, an Alliance of Free Democrats deputy, intends to address a question to the prime minister under the title of "An Attempt To Subject Hungarian Radio and TV to Government Supervision and Direct Control." Miklos Haraszti has the floor.

[Haraszti] [passage omitted] Is it true that you [Antall] recently sent a letter to the leaders of Hungarian Radio and TV appointed by the president of the Republic, in which you expressed your view that Hungarian Radio, TV, and MTI are under government supervision? [passage omitted] You refer to a government decree of 1974 to back this claim.

Is it true that you stated in this letter that the government is now trying to exercise this right of supervision laid down in that decree two decades ago, in the knowledge, moreover that the National Assembly has already changed the order of appointment [of heads of these media bodies] in a law requiring a two-thirds majority, insuring for the leaders of radio and TV a status independent of the government?

Have you indeed stated in this letter that any organizational and operational decision is only legal in these two public service bodies if the government approves them?

Finally, is it a fact that in this letter you call on the chairmen of these two public service bodies to send the documents on decisions taken up to now and also to send the documents of planned organizational and operational decisions, in advance, to you for approval? [passage omitted]

[Antall] I sum up my reply to the question raised. Naturally, I have written such a letter to the chairmen of the television and the radio and the director general of MTI. [passage omitted]

There is no question, whatsoever, of direct control. I grew out of that age a long time ago. [laughter, applause] Mr. Deputy misinterprets the situation when he alludes, with his question, that the government is allegedly returning to the party-state concept of two decades ago. I declare that the government has no intention of reviving the cultural policy of the old regime and its approach to the mass media. The two letters Mr. Deputy refers to are precisely proof of this. In these I have informed Elemer Hankiss and Csaba Gombar, chairmen of Hungarian TV and Radio, that a comprehensive law on the supervision of public service radio, TV, and news agency is being prepared. [passage omitted]

Until the enactment of this law those parts of the 1047/1974 Council of Ministers decree which did not have to be invalidated by order of subsequent laws must still be employed. According to Point No. 5 of this decree, the detailed regulations regarding the organization and operation of Hungarian Radio and TV are contained in the organizational and operational rules worked out by the leaders of the radio and TV. According to Point No., it is ruled that (?regarding) supervision by the government, the government approves the aforementioned rules of radio and TV. [passage omitted]

I am informing Mr. Deputy and the esteemed house that, in accordance with the now explained ruling of the constitution, the government has no means of changing the aforementioned government decree because a law has to decide on these things, while this government does not intend to take away the powers of the National Assembly [in this issue]. However, until the assembly legislates such a law, we must act on the basis of the valid regulations, if only to insure that the operations of Hungarian TV and Radio are legal.

By the way, the chairmen of Hungarian Radio and TV both assured me in their letters of reply about the adherence to these regulations and insuring that they are adhered to, and they did not dispute that government approval of the regulations is legal. [passage omitted]

Thus, in reply to the factual questions of Mr. Deputy, I would like to state the following: Hungarian Radio and TV are under the supervision of the government not because of my stance but by a decree which cannot be changed by the government—as seen above—and which is also obligatory for the government. However, this supervision does not extend beyond the government's [right to grant] approval for the organizational and operational rules of these media bodies. Furthermore, only those parts of the 1974 law mentioned by Mr Deputy are still valid which are not in conflict with law no.57/1990 on the order of the appointment of heads of the public service media. This law, by the way, rules that the president, at the recommendation of the prime minister, appoints the chairmen and vice chairmen—after hearings by the responsible National Assembly committee—thus, since no vice chairman appointment has been made since this law took affect, i.e. in the past year, the prime minister has the right to make a recommendation for a vice chairman, and to submit that to the National Assembly and on the basis of the assembly's stance and naturally also submit it to Mr President of the Republic. [Even] without legal regulation, when such a step is taken a prime minister negotiates as required with the chairman of the radio or TV. By the way, I have not

met Mr. Csaba Gombar, chairman [of Hungarian Radio] since his appointment. So much for the "direct control" in the title of the question.

The application of the government decree's still valid regulations is obligatory for the government until a law is legislated in accordance with the constitution about the issue. [passage omitted]

[Haraszti] Unfortunately, I have not received an answer to my last question on why you decided now on the application of this 1974 decree, which is undoubtedly still contained in the collection of laws. Reading this 1974 government decree, I find the following opening sentence: "The task of Hungarian Radio and Television is the promotion of the policy of the Hungarian People's Republic. It is this aim to which those orders which for instance, rule that the prime minister supervises Hungarian Radio and TV or that their organizational and operational rules should be approved by the government, are subordinated.

So, it appears that at last, our legal system is united, everything is in place—I think that it was worth waiting 18 years for this. [Passage omitted] Regarding the legal argument, If I had the means or the time in parliament to ask prime minister Gyorgy Lazar, who signed this decree, why he wanted merely on a party-state basis to bring under his own direction the radio, the TV, and the MTI, I am afraid he would have answered exactly the same, that he could not do anything else, he is bound by the legal regulations, i.e. the government decree signed by himself. [laughter]

Unfortunately, this is precisely the same situation now, because last August you interfered with this government decree, you modified it. Therefore, today's legal state of affairs has come about by your not invalidating these two points—and precisely these two points—of that government decree. [applause] And now you allude to the legal situation created by you yourself as being impossible to circumvent. [passage omitted]

[Voros] Miklos Haraszti, our fellow deputy, has not accepted the prime minister's reply. I ask the National Assembly whether it accepts it. Please vote.

The assembly has accepted the prime minister's reply, with 163 votes in favor, 106 against, and eight abstentions.

Antall Sees 'No Room' for Pozsgay's Movement

AU3004094491 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 Apr 91 pp 1, 4

[MTI report: "There Is No Need for a New People's Front"]

[Text] The two-day national conference of the Christian Democratic group of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], organized in Gyor-Menfocsanak, ended on Sunday [21 April] with a closing speech by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, chairman of the MDF. In his introduction, Antall spoke about three spiritual trends within the MDF: the popular/national, the national/liberal, and the Christian-democratic heritage. Antall stressed that these three trends simultaneously marked the MDF, and that this made the MDF different to other Hungarian political parties.

Reacting to a radio interview on Sunday, Antall expressed his opinion concerning the new political movement spearheaded by Imre Pozsgay and Zoltan Biro. "I have no doubts about their good intentions," the prime minister declared. "They probably want to form a political movement that will contribute to the success of our transformation." At the same time, Antall stressed that it was a mistake to conclude that due to the dissatisfaction, disappointment, and political apathy in this country—caused by transformational difficulties—Hungary needed a new type of people's front, a movement proclaiming great national unity. "All this is contrary to a functioning political multiparty system where interests are expressed, and it is far removed from a parliamentary democracy or from a social market economy." Antall added that in a modern parliamentary democracy, there was no room for a movement or party that wanted to regroup those who could not find their place in political life, or those who had dropped out of other parties.

Jozsef Antall also spoke about Hungary's debt situation. He stressed that the government was looking for solutions to ease the country's situation, but that at the same time, Hungary still aimed to service its debts, and that there had been no request for debt rescheduling. Antall pointed out that Hungary's debt had shown a reduction since the government's taking office. At the same time, he admitted that there were real reasons behind Hungarian people's pessimism, given that the living standards of the majority of the population had deteriorated.

Goncz Says Nation Not Interested in NATO

LD3004142691 Budapest MTI in English 1243 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bonn, April 30 (MTI)—"At present it is untimely to speak about Hungarian membership of NATO since the North Atlantic Alliance is not seeking to admit that country into its ranks, and nor does Budapest wish to join that organisation. Hungary does, however, expect to be admitted into the European Community. It is quite obvious, that she is orientated towards the West," Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, told the editor-in-chief of "THUERINGER TAGESPOST" in anticipation of his visit to Germany and, within that, to Thueringia next week. The interview, which will be carried by THUERINGER TAGESPOST of Eisenach and WESTFALEN-BLATT of Bielefeld on Wednesday, has been put at the disposal of the Bonn office of MTI.

Goncz said that his talks in Germany would focus, among other topics, on the weakening ties between Hungary and the former territories of East Germany. The new laender of the Federal Republic used to maintain close economic contacts with Hungary, but "now it

looks as if Hungary no longer exists for the former GDR territories and that the latter no longer exists for Hungary. This situation should somehow be settled", Goncz said. The president said that the lack of mutual interest and the shortfalls in the supply of spare parts is first of all hitting Hungarian households since almost each household has an appliance or a car made in East Germany.

In the president's view, many Hungarian firms would be able to work in East Germany. Hungarian construction companies, for instance, could take part in the renovation of the flats belonging to the evacuated Soviet garrisons.

'Military Expert' on Nuclear Weapons in Country

AU3004101891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with an unidentified military expert by Peter Vajda; place and date not given: "Fifteen Years With Missiles"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] In connection with the issue of Soviet nuclear weapons deployed in Hungary, our correspondent asked the opinion of a high-ranking military expert who knew about the arsenal of the Soviet armed forces and Hungarian-Soviet military relations.

[Vajda] In your view, since when have the Soviets been storing nuclear weapons in Hungary?

[Answer] Certain indirect information shows that these weapons were stored here for about 15 years. [Former party leader] Janos Kadar approved the deployment of such weapons in Hungary. As you could also read, [former Prime Minister] Karoly Grosz did not see any date near Janos Kadar's signature, or perhaps he does not remember.

[Vajda] After all, what Soviet weapons deployed in Hungary could carry nuclear devices?

[Answer] An early variation of the Frog missile, as this is known in NATO code, and the Scud-A missile. The Frog is a nonguided single-stage tactical missile with a range of a few tens of kilometers. The Scud-A is a guided artillery tactical missile with a mobile launch pad, with a range of 80-150 km.

[Vajda] What other missiles replaced these early types in the Soviet arsenal in Hungary later?

[Answer] The nonguided tactical missile called Lana-M, and known as the Frog-7 in NATO code, replaced the early Frogs. Its range can be fixed according to the height of its launching pad, with a maximum of about 60 km. The Scud-A was replaced by the Scud-B guided tactical missile, known as R300 in the Soviet Army, and with a range of 160-260 km.

[Vajda] These weapons can carry both conventional and nuclear warheads. Are we certain that they were nuclear weapons?

[Answer] Yes, we are, and not only from the recent statements made by Anus, Gross, and Nemeth. In 1987, a Western source started from the premise that there were 36 Soviet nuclear missiles deployed in Hungary.

[Vajda] Do you know the location of Soviet missile units that had nuclear devices?

[Answer] I presume that they were deployed in the vicinity of Dombovar and in the village of Baja, near Tate.

[Vajda] Did they store the nuclear warheads in the same places?

[Answer] According to Soviet regulations, such warheads cannot be stored in the same place during peacetime. Sometimes, the warheads were stored 10 kilometers away from the missile unit. In a specific period of time I know, these warheads were guarded by KGB troops and special units. These warheads were stored in containers that were regularly examined by specially-trained personnel.

[Vajda] Could there have also been nuclear bombs in Hungary?

[Answer] We cannot exclude that possibility either, namely that the Soviet military airfield in Debrecen was also used by long- range strategic Sukhoy-24 combat aircraft (NATO-code: Fencer C), which also carry nuclear bombs.

[Vajda] Could there also have been chemical warheads in Hungary?

[Answer] Chemical warheads were generally not stored far away from the missiles themselves.

[Vajda] Does the fact that Soviet nuclear devices were stored in Hungary mean that NATO also programmed its own devices to eliminate these targets?

[Answer] Yes. It is a priority goal of every military leadership to eliminate the other side's weapons of mass destruction. We could see that during the Iraqi war.

MSZP Chairman Horn on Suggested Refugee Policy

AU3004163891 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Apr 91 p 6

[Interview with Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP, by Kurcz; in Budapest; date not given: "If the 'Dormant Volcano' Erupts...."—first two paragraphs are MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] During a recent visit to Nyiregyhaza, Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Parliament's foreign affairs committee, made a surprising statement concerning the threatening possibility of a wave of Soviet refugees flooding our country. Horn pointed out what the real solution would be if the situation returned to normal in a Soviet Union that is currently struggling with difficulties. However, if that failed, then we should not be afraid to introduce mandatory visas in order to protect Hungarian interests. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] The unilateral introduction of compulsory visas is a rather unfriendly diplomatic move. Do you agree?

[Horn] Look, I would like to remind you that Germany and other countries took very severe measures—including the introduction of compulsory visas—to cope with East European tourists and travelers, and nobody scolded them for it. A country primarily has to bear its own interests in mind; those are the interests that it has to protect. This does not constitute a change in our basic concept: We are in favor of an abolition of borders, and we believe in neutral frontiers. However, that all seems rather distant right now, particularly if we take the current Soviet situation into account.

[Kurcz] Prior to your departure [foreign affairs committee visit to Moscow, 14-16 April], you stated that the six-party delegation would broach the subject of a refugee wave as one of the first issues to be discussed with your Soviet negotiating partners. Were you able to raise this issue within an appropriate forum?

[Horn] Our aim was to clarify different viewpoints and to find out what the Soviets thought about this issue. Naturally, we asked them about their plans concerning the introduction of a world passport. Their answer was unambiguous: Their principles are firm, but at the same time, enormous administrative, economic, and financial difficulties hinder the implementation of their plans. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] What happens if internal Soviet problems become more acute, if there is confrontation and perhaps even bloodshed, and if hundreds of thousands of people set off toward unobserved border stretches within a matter of days or weeks, heading for the unknown?

[Horn] Even though they are strictly guarding their borders, I think that in relation to this problem, the essential thing is for the internal Soviet situation to become more reassuring. Everything else depends on that. For them, 1991 will be a pivotal year. Admittedly, people have already announced on various occasions in the past that the real change was just about to happen, but I think that tensions have accumulated to such an extent that antagonisms and very serious internal power struggles have to be settled, one way or another.

[Kurcz] You were Hungary's foreign minister when the first large-scale refugee waves from Transylvania and the GDR hit Hungary. Our experience shows that the civilized world is reluctant to lend a hand to those in need. If refugees flood our country by crossing unobserved border stretches, can Hungarians expect any help from the West, or will the West sacrifice us as a breakwater?

[Horn] One always has to rectify the source of the problem. I have no illusions: The West will not be our serious partner in this matter. We have a lot of experience in this domain. We all know that they treat Romanian transit refugees extremely severely, that they turn them away. It is not a question of them sacrificing us; they do not know how to cope with this wave, either. [passage omitted]

[Kurcz] Can there be any positive discrimination in the case of such large waves of refugees, the kind of wave that is casting its shadow upon us? Can ethnic Hungarians from national minorities be given priority over other nationalities?

[Horn] I do not think that there will be any great immigration wave of ethnic Hungarians from the Soviet Union because in the past few years, there has been a significant improvement in the situation of Hungarians in sub-Carpathia. In principle, I think that we definitely could give them priority if they should decide to move. That is not a written obligation, but a moral obligation for our country. However, it would also be in our interest if the Hungarian national minority in sub-Carpathia found its happiness where it is. It would be an enormous loss if Hungarians left their native country in sub-Carpathia.

New Border Crossings With Austria To Open

LD3004184691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] The Hungarian and Austrian foreign ministers recently signed an agreement about the opening of six new border crossing points between the two countries. Today, representatives of the Austrian and Hungarian customs organs had a meeting about the practical realization of the agreement. Sandor Forgacs reports:

[Forgacs] Six new border crossings are to be opened between Austria and Hungary. At five of these, traffic can start on 1 July. Between Fertod and Pamhagen, a visa-free crossing will be open 24 hours. The crossings between Fertorakos and Narbisch, Mosonszentjanos and Andau, Bozsok and Hreinitz, and Szentpeterfa and Eberau will be open during the daytime. The look-out tower in Irotko can also be visited freely. The sixth crossing, between Pinkamindszent and Mosendorf, will be opened later, since the plans for a bypass around the Austrian settlement must first to be prepared, because the inhabitants protest against the expected increase in traffic.

Major General Dr. Gyorgy Balogh, national commander of the customs and excise, and Dr. (Hans Ditvar Sweisgut), director of Austrian customs, consider it possible that passport control and customs checks will be carried out jointly at the crossings; thus the travellers will only have to stop once at the border, which would considerably speed up traffic. As they added, there is no political obstacle in principle to working together; however, an inter-state agreement has to outline the implementation.

Walesa Interviewed on Current Issues

LD3004191191 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1750 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by unidentified reporters in Warsaw on 30 April—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. President, recently much has been written about the meeting of economists that is supposed to be taking place, sponsored by the Belweder Palace. Today you received Prime Minister Bielecki for breakfast. Did you talk about this?

[Walesa] Yes, we spoke, because after my return from my overseas trip, I had to see what is happening in Poland now. The idea was, it was a response to the necessity that Poland and Poles are faced with, that is, many people have doubts as to whether this path is correct, when there are going to be results, whether we are not making too many mistakes. One would need the many points of view of economists to talk about what is happening in Poland, where we are going, what the prospects are. As president, I have to respond to the public call, and I must provide everyone with arguments for the correct path, the public and the people who govern in Poland.

[Reporter] Will that meeting on 6-7 May take place?

[Walesa] That meeting must take place, regardless of whether someone likes it or not, because society is discussing things, it has its doubts, it must see prospects, and we must provide it with them.

[Reporter] But the prime minister left that meeting visibly irritated.

[Walesa] No, only that as always, I have little time. I had five minutes for an important interview, and today is a very difficult day for the prime minister and me. Thus we work more like we have no time for etiquette.

[Reporter] The political circles, however, are not reacting well to this economic meeting, which is to take place precisely in the Belweder Palace. People say that it could even be a vote of no confidence in the government, that it is a showdown between the Advisory Committee and Prime Minister Balcerowicz [as heard].

[Walesa] No, as president, I could not allow such things to happen. I have to allow proper development of Poland. Poland is going to develop properly, and I am going to ask for various orientations about the right way. Of course, some try to play a game. The presidency must be what unites Poland, and it will be.

[Reporter] Mr. President, do you think that the advisory committee is playing a game? It so happens that after statements by the committee, your spokesman, Mr. President, always has to declare loyalty to the government.

[Walesa] Well, we have to learn a lot of things. Of course one can see a game being played by various forces—among others, by the committee—but I repeat, the president is to play for Poland and not to play with different groups. Who is right, and whose way is right, I try to select it.

[Reporter] Is your council to be for the people, so people can see there are different views, or is it to be a showpiece for the government.

[Walesa] No. This government and this prime minister were designated by me, and I am going to help him. This prime minister has truly great achievements and is heading in the right direction. The situation, however, has been difficult. Let us not be misled, many work enterprises were built for political reasons, many of them, as ambassadors report to me, do not undertake cooperation. Many work enterprises have been plundered by companies and various rogues, many do not have a fresh look at matters, do not take up a good business, do not allow people to do good business. I hope that the meeting will show everything.

[Reporter] Mr. President, if at the meeting of economists there is a specific proposal to give you the right to issue economic decrees, will you lend your support to such a proposal?

[Walesa] No, because the president does not need such decrees. Decrees that the president might need should concern security, threats, and so on. Economic decrees are necessary for the government. The government has so many problems to resolve, and the Parliament cannot keep up the pace. There is such a pileup there that if the Parliament works as it is working now, it will not solve problems in the next 10 years—problems that have to be solved today.

[Reporter] Mr. President, some people feel that political destruction has been accelerated.

[Walesa] Well, I am very sorry. Of course, people may think that. Many are showing off today. [as heard] I am convinced that the acceleration has been considerable, but in those places where it is possible. I could not accelerate when a government did not exist. I could not accelerate when the new government was taking up its post, when it did not know where the oesk was and which key was for which drawer. We needed time for the government to get to know the issues. We needed to create the possibilities, and I, as the president responsible, gave [word indistinct] such possibilities, taking everything that was bad upon myself. That is the right way.

[Reporter] After four months, has anything remained of the (?word) of acceleration?

[Walesa] Sir, Poland is in a difference place; for example, she has accelerated so that half the debt is gone, she has accelerated so far that she cannot receive the aid coming to Poland today. [word indistinct] aid, that does not mean money but attempts at cooperation.

[Reporter] Mr. President, do you support the separation of church and state?

[Walesa] Well, some things have settled into place in Poland, and I think that the church is capable of finding a place, and will be able to do this over 2,000 years. That is true today. There is a mixing-up of concepts and a discussion not on the right subject. The church, well, that is, we are all believers, and I do not know (?how) I could separate from the church, for example.

[Reporter] But there is a specific proposal that the bishops should unequivocally propose that there be no clause in the constitution on the separation of church and state. Do you support the bishops here?

[Walesa] I do not know about these things. I do not know what you mean. I only know one thing. The bishops or the church really do not want to rule or interfere in political affairs. They want to participate in life, but in a different way, not in the way we imagine. There are a few people who play games, who exploit each imprecise formulation—that is how I would describe it—but as I have said, I have to acquaint myself with this issue. We are not in danger of returning to the middle ages, we are in danger regarding the faith of the 21st century, faith in politics and moral politics, and not in the way some people want to see it.

[Reporter] But it is being said that we are in danger precisely of returning to the middle ages, that we are not entering but retreating from Europe. You travel a geat deal, Mr. President, and unfortunately, our country is regarded as anachronistic, particularly because of the considerable influence of the Catholic Church. An example could be the anti-abortion law.

[Walesa] Yes. This is a topic of the moment that I encounter everywhere. Of course many times I talk with blacksmiths or carpenters on medical aspects of abortion. That is why I want to say, more wisdom and more understanding in these matters. If we want to discuss the subject at all, let us divide it into three domains; that is, the medical point of view, the moral aspect—and here let us talk about morality and faith as one of the subtexts—and let us also classify it as an economic subject, living conditions and so on. In each of these domains, one can consider whether one is allowed to murder and how to murder. And today's shouts and demonstrations, this is not the way to solve such a serious matter.

[Reporter] Obviously, there would be no referendum in such a situation.

[Walesa] I think one can put it differently. Are we prepared regarding the three subjects I mentioned—medical, moral, and economic—for a wise discussion on this subject.

[Reporter] Are we?

[Walesa] No, we are not prepared.

[Reporter] It transpires that you are against the referendum, are you not?

[Walesa] No, I am not against it as the public has the right to decide on every subject. I have to guard democracy, and the people elected me so I should have a voice. I shall obey the people's will. There are subjects, however, which are personal, such as morality and conscience, and no resolution concerns me here.

[Reporter] Exactly. One can come to a conclusion here that you, Mr. President, are of the opinion that there should be no law, as this is a personal matter for each individual.

[Walesa] Of course, regarding morality and conscience, one can achieve nothing using the laws. As I say, awareness is needed, economic, moral, and economic [as heard] awareness. And [word indistinct] of it all is decisive. I do not believe that any conscious and wise woman would want to murder when one can choose solutions before and after. But there is not enough culture, not enough knowledge and not enough responsibility, and it causes such instances.

[Reporter] Mr. President, should there be a referendum or not?

[Walesa] A referendum should be held on every subject, but whether on the subject of conscience, I have not considered this yet.

[Reporter] Various European countries see us as an anachronistic state. One notes the domination of the church here. Are you concerned over this, Mr. President, as according to the latest poll, society is losing confidence in the church, a society that, according to you, is 99 percent Catholic?

[Walesa] I would say the following: In the West various things about Poland get through, some people are making films, which really do portray us as medieval, and after such a film it is difficult to reach a different conclusion. In Poland, however, I should say something else. In Poland the church allows itself to be kicked about, it allows itself to be kicked about on demagogic slogans. It does not join in, as the dignity of the church, the honesty of the church does not permit it to hit back or to play with such [word indistinct] slogans.

[Reporter] Are you afraid that during the elections the criterion for candidates is going to be precisely the question of abortion, their attitude toward abortion?

[Walesa] I intend to join the election campaign, but not on any of the sides, not on anyone's side, only on the sidelines, to see what each party is hatching, to show what they are saying, what they are talking about, why for example they are pushing abortion and not saying that precisely the conditions for women should be improved, that medical awareness should be improved, and so on. Thus I am going to show how one should not vote for those who approach the issue is a silly way.

[Reporter] Are you a president who stands above party divisions, or do you also have one you feel attracted to?

[Walesa] No, I stand above divisions and keep that position, only with one exception: If there was a threat of the old solutions, then I shall do everything; I am convinced that I will bet to win.

[Reporter] Which party would you like to vote for in the parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] I split this great movement so pluralism would be victorious, so that various options and various orientations, as in other countries, have a say, [word indistinct] could join, that was my intention.

[Reporter] Mr. President, you said that France is our most important partner.

[Walesa] I see everyone is necessary in Europe, and each one of us has something to do. Let us remember here, however, that at the moment the Germans are occupied with themselves, and they will be occupied for about five years, according to my calculations. Thus, at the moment, when the revolution that we started is in difficulties, when anarchy could result, when many of the problems have not been solved, other European states that have the ability and could do business on this matter ought to play a more active part, and precisely, France, Britain, great powers, ought now to so manage Europe that it will be peaceful and cope with these problems we have today.

[Reporter] Do you agree with Prime Minister Bielecki, who has said many times that our road to Europe leads through Germany?

[Walesa] Prime Minister Bielecki is taking shortcuts. It indeed is the shortest road, but after all, of course, there are many ideas. I think that one of the concepts is through Germany, but we see that when we go down that short road they protest, throw stones at coaches, and thus hamper that path.

Once again, that is not the issue. The problem lies in the fact that we have to apply tested models in Europe, in economics, in social and political affairs, if we want to fit into this Europe. If we apply these models, we will be able to trade and cooperate there, because the models tell us where it is better and closer from an economic point of view. Well, and looking at it this way, it is true that the Germans are closest.

[Reporter] Mr. President, what have you failed to sort out in these past four months? What has been your greatest defeat?

[Walesa] I have to tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that I have not been defeated. I have managed to sort out a great deal, but let us not boast about this. I can only say that, fully conscious, I agreed to lead Poland to solutions, prosperity, and a different system. I will do this, and no one will hinder me in doing so. There are difficulties, yes, there are difficulties, but we will solve these problems. We cannot do everything at once, and we must also see that.

[Reporter] Thank you very much.

Spokesman: Walesa 'Behind' Current Government

LD3004140691 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] The conference of economists is to take place at the Belweder Palace after all, albeit perhaps on a different occasion than previously thought. This is the decision that was made today by President Lech Walesa after a meeting with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki and Wojciech Wlodarczyk, the secretary of the president's Advisory Committee. Members of the government will take part in the conference, and the prime minister will appoint a plenipotentiary who will agree on the technical details with the Advisory Committee. The president's press spokesman, Andrzej Drzycimski, said that the conference is to have the character of an economic discussion. The president clearly declares himself behind the current government, and is not considering any personnel changes in the cabinet.

Walesa Meets Military Officers on Budget Cuts

LD3004055891 Warsaw PAP in English 2218 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 29—Polish President Lech Walesa received here today commanders of the Polish Army to discuss the problems of defence in the context of the difficult economic situation in Poland. While stating that the economic problems call for economizing, the participants in the meeting pointed to threats related to this, especially in view of the cuts in the Defence Ministry Budget. Also today the Defence Industry Council met to discuss problems in this sector following the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact structures. The Council pointed out that military equipment and armaments, provided so far by the Soviet Union, now had to be sought elsewhere. The Council also discussed the problem of maintaining the productive capacity in the military industry as the necessary condition for ensuring the state sovereignty.

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1800 GMT on 29 April adds: "At the request of Ministers Piotr Kolodziejczyk and Lech Kaczynski, President Lech Walesa has received representatives of the command cadre of the Polish Army. Matters of defense in the context of the economic situation of the country were discussed. Economic difficulties require various kinds of economies and cuts, which, in fact, also applies to the Army. The situation reigning in particular military districts and types of forces was presented to the president, together with a request for him to make visits to all the districts."]

Bielecki Receives Japanese Dietmen

LD3004181291 Warsaw PAP in English 1649 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki received at a luncheon here today a group of Japanese parliamentarians led by Michio Watanabe of the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) who paid a visit to this country to get acquainted with the process of political and economic reforms.

"Poland's situation—compared with other East European countries—is better," Watanabe told PAP and added he held highly the course of Polish reforms.

Next, he said in his opinion the situation in Poland was getting stable and stressed that this made Japan take a decision on the partial reduction of Polish debt. He also added Japan intended to take part in rebuilding the Polish economy as far as possible.

According to well-informed sources, the Polish prime minister is going to pay a visit to Japan at the end of June but the nature of the visit has not been defined yet.

Solidarity National Body on USSR Contacts

AU3004143291 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 24 Apr 91 p 2

[A.B report: "'Solidarity' On A Mission To The USSR"]

[Text] The Presidium of the "Solidarity" National Commission met at full strength on Tuesday, 23 April. All 20 members took part.

The main subject of the meeting was "Solidarity's" international contacts. The National Commission discussed strategy in this sphere via-a-vis Western unions and via-a-vis the fledgling trade union movement in the East. An agreement on cooperation with the Belgian CSC union was adopted. Bogdan Borusewicz, "Solidarity" deputy chairman, will join the delegation due to travel to the USSR on a fact-finding mission.

Preliminary decisions were made about the appointment of branch industrial secretariats. They will be the responsibility of Andrzej Styczynski from the Elblag chapter of "Solidarity."

Lodz Solidarity: Change Policy or Resign

PM3004110991 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 19 Apr 91 pp 1-2

[J. Rybicka report: "Vote of No Confidence in Government!"]

[Text] "(...) Implementation of the economic program, and in particular its restrictive nature, resulted in a culmination of negative phenomena on a scale unforeseen by the 'Balcerowicz plan.' From the very start of its implementation, we have noted a considerable decrease in production and a rapid and drastic deterioration in living standards; pathological developments in the privatization processes; a spread of poverty; a rapid increase in the number of unemployed; and a failure to bring to account persons who can be held responsible for the development of the present situation by virtue of their former leading positions in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and past governments.

"We can no longer remain silent in a situation of general economic collapse. We demand radical changes in the present policy or the immediate resignation of the current government team. (...)"

The passages cited above are excepts from Resolution 71 adopted at yesterday's session of the Lodz Area Regional Solidarity Board. The debate at the session was dynamic—which is by no means usual among that particular group of delegates. This time there was no shortage of officials to form the quorum before voting on major decisions, such as the appointment of a plenipotentiary to deal with matters connected with legal proceedings concerning the restitution of trade union assets, or the situation of trade union bodies in enterprises or institutions affected by ownership changes. The latter question was discussed by, among other experts, the Solidarity Consultation and Negotiation Office, which again emphasized the principle that trade unions are independent and self-governing organizations entitled to set up their own structures independently, thereby preserving the existence of union cells in the event of liquidation of the given enterprise—especially as, after all, individual members retain their trade union membership even after having been made unemployed.

In the circumstances, the Lodz regional Solidarity authorities adopted a resolution in which, among other things, they demanded that the founding bodies of enterprises undergoing ownership transformations negotiate the terms of relevant transformations with Solidarity representatives and at the same time offer guarantees ensuring continuity of action to enterprise Solidarity commissions. Because of the importance of this issue, both sides (that is, the enterprise founding body and the Solidarity Regional Board) were obliged to appoint a joint negotiation team, agree on its official location, and also draw up a procedure for the submission of proposals by enterprise commissions by the end of this month.

Much time was also devoted to discussing the dramatic situation expected to develop as a result of the planned closure of a large number of Lodz kindergartens. It was estimated that the minimum funds required would total nearly 190 billion zloty [Z], the City Council having allocated Z130 billion for the purpose.

The situation is no less drastic in several other areas, in which protest actions are already spreading. These are the Fire Service, the Orbis Travel Agency, and the art and culture milieus. We shall write more about these issues soon.

Poll Says Citizens More Optimistic About Economy

LD3004160791 Warsaw PAP in English 1509 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Warsaw, April 30—An opinion poll published today by the CBOS [Public Opinion Research Center] polling organisation shows that 20 percent of Poles believe the country's economic situation to be good, while 48 percent hold a negative opinion. Nevertheless, this represents a marked improvement from the situation in March, when only 15 percent held a positive opinion and 53 percent a negative one.

As in March, 26 percent of those polled saw the current economic situation as neither good nor bad.

Poles are more optimistic about future prospects, with 48 percent of respondents believing that the economic situation would improve in the next two years (43 percent in March), and only 16 percent believing that it would deteriorate. A further 19 percent believed that there would be no change, while 18 percent held no opinion on the subject.

The April poll showed a marked increase in support for the governments economic policies (67 percent of those polled, compared with 48 percent in March). Only 26 percent (unchanged since March) believed that the government's policies would not lead Poland out of the economic crisis.

Wroclaw Paper Interviews OPZZ' Miodowicz

PM0105092591 Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish 24 Apr 91 pp 1-2

[Interview with National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] Chairman Alfred Miodowicz by Waldemar Chudziak; place and date not given: "I Will Not Settle for Fishing"]

[Text] [Chudziak] Why is it that most of your union's strength becomes dissipated through making empty noises?

[Miodowicz] Because a peculiar power syndrome persists in Poland. Regardless of whether the power originates with the communists or is derived from the Solidarity ethos; whether it works to the advantage of the civil democracy or capitalism, it is invariably an arrogant power that does not err on the side of imagination, but instead entertains an absolute conviction of its infallibility. These symptoms are pathological. There is nothing to distinguish the government currently in office from the team that was headed by Messner. Or perhaps the only difference is that the latter had at its disposal a highly skilled, qualified apparatus—which, however, was subsequently duly removed by the present authorities.

[Chudziak] Unionists complain about the absence of true allies in Parliament. They argue that this puts the employees' causes at a severe disadvantage—indeed, it presupposes their negative outcome—already at the first stages of parliamentary procedure. Is this why both Solidarity and OPZZ are preparing to contest the election?

[Miodowicz] In the first place, we do not want to compete against Solidarity in the parliamentary election. The situation of the working people is dramatic. Even as they voice a whole range of demagogical slogans, the unions are still unable to put together a joint program with which to address the government. If we were to succeed in this, the government would treat us very differently indeed. It is extremely easy for the government to manipulate three trade unions at once. First it talks to us, then to the others, all the while failing to help any of us. Unfortunately, Polish trade unions have not yet learned the art of joint action. Our mouths are full of heroic platitudes, but we manifestly lack the self-preservation instinct. If the unions want to preserve their identity, they must agree to act jointly in certain matters

[Chudziak] Which ones?

[Miodowicz] For example, on the question of the privatization program. If they fail to do this, we will have to contend with witnessing the progress of privatization over the ruins of the Polish economy.

[Chudziak] Who will join you in your election coalition team?

[Miodowicz] I would prefer not to talk about it today.

[Chudziak] Are you afraid that you might not find any allies at all?

[Miodowicz] No.

[Chudziak] Is there anyone on whose support you will definitely not count?

[Miodowicz] We will certainly not count on any of the groups associated with the Center Accord. I also preclude any possibility of joining the peasant alliance.

[Chudziak] Whom would you place on the list of the OPZZ's political friends?

[Miodowicz] The ordinary, gray people. They constitute our silent electorate. However, most people are by now so disgruntled with our daily reality that I am very much afraid they could refuse to vote at all. If they do vote, we will have a chance to win.

[Chudziak] You are often accused of using populist arguments to win over your electorate.

[Miodowicz] You do not win election campaigns by using rational arguments. Populism ensures success, and there are times when purely demagogic measures do likewise. We saw examples of this in the presidential election.

[Chudziak] You mentioned the possibility of forming your own party. To which side of the political map would this party be placed?

[Miodowicz] I cannot imagine setting up a party that would not be placed within the left-wing orientation.

[Chudziak] Are you planning to leave the OPZZ?

[Miodowicz] Yes. I have noticed that even the strongest leaders become prone to "slipping up" somewhere around their eighth year in office. Well, I have been chairman for seven years now.

[Chudziak] You talk as if you were heading a powerful central organization whose strength and influence are feared by every successive government, but the trade unions command little power now.

[Miodowicz] Naturally, I did not refer to our real possibilities. I spoke from a subjective, not objective perspective.

[Chudziak] You were never associated with the liberal trends within the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. Do you not believe that that particular era is gone for good now and that you are simply a card that has been already thrown on the table and is out of the game?

[Miodowicz] I would never have made a good liberal. Liberal ideas are alien to me because I regard them as vague and muddled, whereas those of both the right and left wings are clearly defined. Whatever I may yet decide to do, it will certainly be compatible with my declared views. You are talking about card games. If you hold your cards in your hand too long and take too long to decide the next move, you will never win. What more can a man achieve beyond what he has already achieved during seven years in office in this organization? All he can do is set about securing the continued prominence of his high position. Well, I am no good at this, just as I am no good at making money. There are still many serious pursuits I can follow, apart from setting up a new party. One thing is certain: I will not devote my time to fishing.

Trade Unionists Commemorate May Day

LD0105105591 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Various meetings, marches, and festivals are taking place in various cities on May Day. In Warsaw, trade unionists from the National Trade Union Accord, together with members of Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, walked from union headquarters on Kopernik Street to the Nike Monument. Taking part in the 1 May demonstration organized by the Polish Socialist Party are members of the Polish Feminist Association, Socialist Solidarity, the Union of Free Cooperative Member, and the Association of Tenants.

Newly Appointed Ministers Comment on Mission

AU3004133691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1144 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/4/1991—Victor Stanculescu: The change from the Ministry of National Defence to the Ministry of Industry honours me. In a way I come back to a sector where I had contacts with industry for 50 days immediately after the revolution, the ministry being called then the Ministry of the National Economy. I hope to get a massive support from departments, public corporations, commercial companies and, last but not least, from the trade unions.

Ioan Aurel Stoica: I think that the reshuffle and the government formula proposed by Premier Roman has not taken anybody by surprise. The intentions were set forth as early as the presentation of the report in parliament. The so much talked about government of national unity is groundless. In the current stage we cannot speak about a coalition government. This reshuffle meant a revigoration of the National Salvation Front [FSN] in the government and at the same the involvement in governing of several independent personalities whose political option differs from that of the FSN. The government will be faithful to and solid with the FSN programme with the motto "A future for Romania" adopted at the recent FSN convention. I think that we have already proved the fact that when we announced our readiness to open the government formula towards the opposition parties and forces as well, the FSN did it most seriously and most responsibly.

Nicolae Constantin Spiroiu: Numerous programmes have been initiated in the period elapsed since the revolution. It is our task to continue these processes function of the resources the country will be able to allot for the modernization of our Army in direct relationship with the mutations occurring both internally and internationally, for its transformation into a modern, well trained Army apt to act in a state of law, in a democratic state with dignity, pride, firmness to safeguard the ideals of independence and dignity of our people and country.

New Government Members Make Statements

AU3004181891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1609 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/991—Mihnea Marmeliuc: Back to the cabinet with the full enthusiasm of the period after the revolution when I was on the government that ruled by the May 1990 election, I will try to resume things from where I left, for a correct and serious administration of labor relations. Let me introduce myself: I have an independent thinking of liberal formation and orientation, I am a regular member of the National Liberal Party since 1944.

As for the most urgent preoccupations of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security I am heading, it is first of all about seeing to it that we should be given the legislative norms that should provide the framework for the unfolding of our activity and especially about passing on to systematic organizational measures of application and implementation of these laws. Central should be the record-keeping and more operative payment of the unemployment benefits and the preoccupation, by collaboration with the other relevant ministries, for the continuous creation of new jobs and the development of the network of schools and courses of training, skilling or professional recycling of the persons made redundant through the restructuring of the Romanian economy.

Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of national economy and finance with the rank of state minister, substantiating the necessity of setting up the ministry as a body to ensure the necessary equilibrium of those two compartments of outstanding importance, stated: "We would like in the beginning to first mend a string of mistakes made in the process of application of the economic reform". In that context, Dijmarescu listed a string of actions the new ministry contemplated, including the organization of certain enterprises upon the criteria of vertical integration that, by his opinion, would entail a number of advantages, ensuring a better flow of products between producers and consumers, as well as an actual cut in production costs.

Statement by Rejected Nominee Dinu Patriciu

AU3004165391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1548 GMT 30 Apr 91

["Statement" by Dinu Patriciu; in Bucharest, on 30 April]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—"My presence in the government would have meant a presence of the liberal option, as we would have stuck to our political color, our political program, and our belief was that at the present moment all representatives political forces apt to say something ought to contribute to the reform, on the one hand, and to the country's credibility on an external plane, on the other hand, which is why I accepted to participate."

Asked whether the decision of the Assembly of Deputies could be objected to, Dinu Patriciu answered that a mediation commission for the two houses could be set up or, maybe the prime minister could reiterate his proposal and submit his nomination for the cabinet again to the Assembly of Deputies' voting.

Baltazar on Reasons for Rejection of Nominees

AU3004165291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1604 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—Bogdan Baltazar, government spokesman, stated on April 30 in his weekly news briefing that as the Assembly of Deputies had rejected two nominations for ministers, the prime minister might opt for maintaining at the head of the Ministry of Public Works and of the Ministry of Youth and Sports, respectively, Ministers Doru Pana

and Bogdan Niculescu-Duvaz. In that connection, he mentioned that the proposals for the replacement of the two dignitaries had by no means been prompted by the government's lack of confidence in them. Bogdan Baltazar did not rule out the possibility that Dinu Patriciu be appointed state secretary with the Ministry of Public Works, an appointment which is the prerogative of the prime minister.

Ecologist Movement Protests Government Reshuffle

AU3004201591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1954 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—In connection with the government reshuffle, the Ecologist Movement of Romania states in a communique that it was neither contacted nor consulted as to the changes operated in the government and considers that the solution adopted "does not correspond to the situation of political and social crisis this country has plunged into and that the movement opts for a formula engaging the concerted efforts of the nationally representative political parties."

Press Reaction to Government Reshuffle

AU3004170091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1531 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—"AZI" (pro-government): since the reform is quasi totally viewed as necessary, its objective items going somehow beyond politics, and since there is no other alternative programme with a viability apt to be carried through by scientific means, the people with ideas and willing to work for the implementation of the reform are welcome to the "reform team". The reshuffle Premier Roman proposed yesterday [29 April] includes people with other political options but loyal to the reform and able to make up a team in its favor. And if the non-FSN [National Salvation Front] but pro-reform personalities invited to govern help the reshuffle fulfil its mission, its effects will be beneficial both on a political and on an economic plane.

"ROMANIA LIBERA": The same Mary wearing another hat (...) after having recalled whenever it suited them the cliche of a coup d'etat (well, everyone with his obsession), the National Salvation Front also offers us a government coup. Our "emanates" seem to have reached the conclusion they should not make up alone for the damage they have caused for one and a half years and, hence, it would be proper for them to share it with others as well.

"LIBERTATEA": An absolute post-revolutionary premiere a more-than-one-party government (...) that there were no conflicts and that, ultimately, principles are also negotiable has been proved by the revisions of the decisions regarding the former team's resignation and by the avoidance of major crises. But, under the impact of growing economic difficulties, of broader social protest and divergencies of concepts within the ruling team, the reshuffle became not only necessary but also inevitable. Yet, neither as the parliamentary opposition requested, being too categorical to allow for a basis for discussions, nor as the extra-parliamentary opposition viewed it, namely that the government should have left Victoria Palace inviting instead the most active street speakers. But, at least, as to confer competence credibility on the intention of furthering and accomplishing the reform. (...) It is presumable that once the new government team is formed, its manner and manners will inevitably change, that the foreseeable greater difficulties brought about by liberalization will call for fast action and trenchant positions, the slow waltz of so far being apt to turn into a rock in which it is likely that partners may also bump into one another.

Baltazar on Unemployment, Moldovan Students

AU3004180891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1620 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—51,139 unemployed have been registered in Romania so far and they are granted unemployment benefits, said Bogdan Baltazar at his weekly news conference. 43,358 of them lost their jobs as a consequence of production sections having shrunken, and 7,781 are seeking work for the first time. 54 percent of the present unemployed are women. As for their professional training, 43,758 are workers, 5,373 high school graduates and 2,008 higher school graduates.

In spite of the high figures, the government spokesman specified the situation was "no reason of worry", in comparison with other former socialist, East European countries. But he mentioned the process of restructuring was under way and this year's graduates would add to the number, namely 15,000 from vocational schools, 130,000 from high schools and 18,600 from higher schools.

Referring to the social protection measures the government took in this respect, Mr. Baltazar informed the press on the recent "decision on the training of the unemployed". More than 11,700 unemployed have already been selected for training courses in more than 50 trades.

Government spokesman Bogdan Baltazar told the press conference that 1,500 students and doctorands from the Republic of Moldova, as well as 1,200 pupils were in Romania now. A number of Moldovan students, doctorands and pupils are also in Romania on scholarships from organizations like "Vatra Romaneasca," the "Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina" association, the Romanian Cultural Foundation, etc.

An extra 150 Moldovan students and doctorands—who had been postponed last year for lack of funds or adequate means—will be added to Romania's offer this year.

For the 1991-1992 school and academic year Moldova has asked Romania for 1,000 student and doctorand scholarships and 1,000 pupil scholarships. The beneficiaries thereof will be added to those already studying in Romania. "We shall grant this request at all costs," said Mr. Baltazar.

"'University Square Romania' is a mystification" said Government Spokesman Bogdan Baltazar during his press conference.

"From our conviction of what a film and real information should be we deplore and are indignant about it. Even the interview granted by Prime Minister Roman to the film's producers was 'adapted' in an unacceptable manner. Such procedures remind us of the time when various communist or Kominternist leaders would disappear from or appear in photos at the will of the leaders or propaganda activists. The film starts from partial and aggressive positions, is full of editing tricks and distorts the truth. (...) We reject with indignation the opinions according to which we should have interfered with the film, because we believe it is not a government's job to censor films but a creator's to tell the truth. (...) this film does not honor our cinematography."

Roman Appoints New Timis County Prefect

AU2704190391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1521 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/4/1991—Romanian Premier Petre Roman announced the appointment of a new prefect of Timis in the wake of Florentin Carpanu's resignation. Carpanu said he had not resigned because of pressure from the government but because his conscience had prompted him to do so as he had not been able to fulfil his promises. [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1700 GMT on 27 March carries the same announcement, adding the following: "Prime Minister Roman temporarily appointed Mr. Emil Mateescu as prefect of Timis County."]

Against the background of rumours that Carpanu will be on the reshuffled government Premier Roman is to announce before the Parliament on Monday, 150-200 people staged a protest against the resignation which the opposition "Timisoara" Society dubbed as unacceptable.

Before the revolution Florentin Carpanu was the brilliant leader of the largest zootechnical complex in Romania "COMTIM" and then became one of the few prefects the opposition did not contest.

According to a law against which the opposition has been vehemently protesting, until the local elections, to be held after the Parliament has passed a law along that line, county leaders are appointed by the government.

Timisoara Trade Unions Organize Rally 30 Apr

AU3004181991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1607 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/991—Tuesday [30 April], Opera Square in Timisoara was the venue of a rally organized by the Timisoara Trade Union Federation and the Free Trade Union Alliance in that city.

The speakers protested against the resignation offered by Prefect Florentin Carpanu, calling for its cancellation. They also asked that the trial of the 24 people involved in the repression of the December 1989 revolt in Timisoara be conducted in that town. The participants chanted anti-governmental, anti-presidential, anti-communist and pro-monarchy slogans.

In conclusion of the rally a declaration addressed to parliament, the government and the president was read, warning that in case Prefect Carpanu's resignation is accepted the appointment of a new prefect would not be accepted and free elections would be called in the county to fill this office. The rally was attended by several thousand people.

When the rally ended, a part of the protesters marched towards the prefect's office. On their way, they stopped in front of "RENASTEREA BANATEANA" editorial office, chanting "Down with RENASTEREA BANATEANA", "Liars", "Fascists". Then they stopped in front of the Prefect's Office, once more chanting anti-communist, anti-governmental, anti-presidential and pro-monarchy slogans.

Civic Alliance Holds Rally in Constanta

AU3004201691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—A rally was organized on April 30 in the Ovidiu Square of Constanta by the local branch of the Civic Alliance, participated in by representatives of the National Liberal Party, the Christian Democratic National Peasant Party, the Social Democratic Party, the Ecological Movement, the Students' League of the Marine Institute, local people.

The rally proceeded under the slogan "Wake up, Romanian".

Addresses were made, among others, by George Navon, chairman of the local Civic Alliance Branch, and Iacob Moldovan of the Constanta branch of the Association of Former Political Detainees, who urged to union of all opposition forces in order to induce the resignation of the government, the president and the parliament.

Next to speak were Petre Mihai Bacanu and Stelian Tanase.

The participants in the rally then marched in the city's main streets up to the Heroes' Roadside Cross, where a wreath was laid.

Industrial Production Reportedly 'Declining'

AU2704133091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1109 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/4/1991—The industrial production of Romania's capital, Bucharest, has been declining ever since the beginning of last year, shows a statistical survey in daily LIBERTATEA, the first free newspaper of the Romanian revolution. The data supplied from the city's specialty departments show that with 238 of the 305 products in the manufacturing list of the Bucharest economic agents, the results in the first quarter of 1991 are poorer than in the relevant period of 1990. With some products, like dyestuffs and organic pigments the production has almost halved, with diesel engines the production dropped to 30 per cent, with cereal harvesters to 38.2 per cent, computers 18.6 per cent, and bigger productions were reported only with copper rolled goods and medicines.

The industrial marketable output of the first quarter of 1991 is worth 48.529 billion lei, by 6.388 billion lei (or 21.3 per cent) less than in the first quarter of 1990. This decrease has led to a growing discrepancy, as compared to 1989 performance, from 82 per cent in 1990 to 64.5 per cent in 1991. However, paradoxically, the stocks of finished goods of most of the Bucharest industrial units grow, as shown by statistics, from 14.713 billion lei last January to 16.091 billion lei at the end of the first quarter. The biggest rises in the finished goods stocks are reported with economic units of metallurgy, machine-building, electronics and electrical engineering. Most of the first quarter production (91.8 per cent) was supplied to the internal market, and only 8.2 per cent went to export. Worrying is the fact that the Bucharest economic agents avoid conclusion of contracts as much as can, invoking difficulties in the supply with raw materials and structural and organizational changes.

The same statistical data show that the maximum available time for work of the employees in the Bucharest industry was used for productive purposes 87.2 per cent in the first quarter of 1991 as compared with 88.4 per cent in the first quarter of 1990, and the actual average duration of the workday kept at 7.78 hours a day, while the number of worked days dropped from 21.4 in March 1990 to 19.00 in March 1991. An additional marketable output worth 6.731 billion lei could have been turned out in the available time left unused of 23,700 hours.

Investments do not show signs of refloating. The Bucharest building sites attained in the first quarter of 1991 only 40.4 per cent of the performance of last year's relevant period.

The export of industrial goods of the Bucharest economic agents totalled in the first quarter of 1991 only 24.7 million dollars and 48.9 million rubles, meaning 52.7 per cent and 60.9 per cent of the export reported in the first quarter of 1990.

Manzatu Favors National, Social Reconciliation

AU2904211291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1518 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/4/1991—Professor Ion Manzatu, president of the Republican Party, declares in favor of a national and also of a social reconciliation, embracing all forces which, "one way or another, might be at any time held responsible for the past."

"Let justice try each of them for their deeds," Mr. Manzatu says in an interview with daily "LIBERTATEA". "After all, all Romanians have been degraded. We have competent people in every field, but many of them were forced into marginal positions, some left the country; others are frightened. As for myself," Mr. Manzatu underlines, "I know no other accusations except that of not loving one's country, of refusing to do anything for it."

Speaking about the economic reform, Professor Manzatu appreciates that it should be the treatment of a sick economy, but, in his opinion, a scientific diagnosis is missing.

Regretting that the real opposition in Romania is practically the one outside parliament, Professor Manzatu appreciates that, at the moment, the Civic Alliance is the "most active political factor" of Romania's opposition.

The Republican Center-Right Party, Mr. Manzatu evinced, has a balanced position, being open to collaboration with all parties with all forces, without ever abandoning its rejection of communism, or the refuse to cooperate with any extremist party.

Asked about his position on the Tirgu Mures events of last March, Professor Manzatu disapproved in very harsh words of the report of the parliamentary commission headed by N.S. Dumitru, describing it as a "socio-political study in a perfectly Marxist style", meant as "dust in parliament's eyes, evading truth, and betraying national interests." Mr. Manzatu reasserted his intention to make public the truth about the Tirgu Mures events as reflected by the report of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Commission he had headed. "I repeat," Mr. Manzatu said, "Hungarian irredentism was determined to find a motivation to persuade world public opinion that Transylvania was not a part of Romania."

Government Spokesman on Privatization Process

AU3004173591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—There is a new office in the composition of the Romanian Government reshuffled on April 29—that of state secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food in charge of privatization to which Mr. Valeriu Pescaru was appointed.

As a matter of fact, one of the basic ideas in Prime Minister Petre Roman's speech to the two parliamentary chambers on April 29 was that of small and big privatization "to start without delay". To which end, Premier Roman said, "a correct, unhampered access should be ensured to the formation of small private units, productive ones in the first place, to act as a prime resource of recruiting labor, of rapidly meeting market requirements and of creating a dynamics in the economy before the big industry is relaunched".

The Romanian prime minister sees small and big privatization as one of the elements that "support the economic recovery programme, labor employment and the application of the economic reform defined by the package of laws the parliament has already approved.

In the economic strategy set forth in the Romanian Government's programme as early as June 1990, privatization was one of the key problems of concern to the executive.

Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister of state, in charge of the economy and finance (former minister of state in charge of economic orientation) opined at that time that it was profitable to open the privatization process in the economic sectors having real chances of profit and the recovery of investment. In parallel, Mr. Dijmarescu added, the other enterprises should undergo a similar process attracting the latent capital in the economy, on the basis of share issuance, to make up the investment fund. The Romanian economy, he also said, was open to foreign capital.

As for land, the major production means in agriculture, the privatization process gained ground as early as 1990. With the adoption of the land law (which is now being applied) that process was reviewed and further encouraged in 1991.

Originally, the privatization process was meant for trade, tourism and services and, in the case of industry, for smaller units.

How did the respective process develop?

Quoting sources supplied by the National Agency for Privatization and the development of small and medium-sized units in Romania, the government spokesman, Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, told the press that until mid March 1991 as many as 121,294 certificates had been issued to organized economic agents and 1,438 joint companies with a total capital of 1,775,000,000 lei, 89,4 million dollars, 278 million DM and 8,8 million French Francs had been created. He also said that the foreign partners to the joint companies came from 63 countries, most of them from Germany 231, Italy 164, the U.S.A. 133, France 96.

As for internal trade, by mid-March there were roughly 15,000 private agents and some 300 joint commercial companies. About 10,000 old commercial units had also turned into autonomous units.

The draft law of privatization is about to be finalized. The government spokesman, Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, announced it in his news conference of April 23 saying the document had known about 14 variants and had been worked out on the basis of broad, detailed consultations, on an international plane included with a specialized us company which expresses its opinions on Romanian solutions and formulates proposals for their improvement. The respective solutions are either espoused or rejected by Romanian experts, Mr. Baltazar said.

Split in Social Democratic Party Explained

AU2704194191 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Apr 91 p 2

[Editorial: "Social Democratic Party of Romania Looking for Tradition—Mr. Cunescu's Refusal To Withdraw From the Parliament Was the Last Straw"]

[Text] Thursday, 18 April, at Mr. Mircea Stanescu's home, where on 24 December 1989 the Social Democratic Party of Romania [PSDR] was reestablished, a group of social-democrats announced their resignation from a party that they view as unrepresentative of social-democratic ideals. Actually, dissatisfaction was previously expressed, before the PSDR congress, in Mr. Adrian Dimitriu's letter, which was partially published in our paper. Mr. Adrian Dimitriu is the closest ally of Mr. C. Titel Petrescu, the man who defended democratic values against communism through his alliance with the traditional parties in the 1946 elections to stop the fraudulent establishment of the Soviet regime in Romania. Aside from young people, veterans of the traditional PSDR are actually among the people who resigned.

In his resignation statement, Mr. Mircea Stanescu recalled, on behalf of the others, the reasons behind it: Mr. Cunescu's "dictatorial, opportunist, and dilettante" comportment; the imposition of a personal group at the helm of the PSDR; and the people's frustration in connection with the ability to become acquainted with the essence of social-democracy embodied by a traditional party. With the idea that "Romania needs deeds, not words at this point," the resigners voiced their intention to once again set up a genuine social-democratic party to stop certain "ambitious people" from claiming to be what they are not. Here is the list of names of those who made this decision: Mircea Stanescu, general secretary after the revolution and PSDR veteran; Marian Dinca, PSDR founding member and member of the steering committee up to the congress, then of the Bucharest committee; Constantin Constantinescu, veteran, member of the steering committee up to 5 March; Vasile Mirea, secretary of District No. 3 organization and president of the main press commission; Constantin Ionescu, secretary of the District No. 4 organization; Gabor Babos, member of the organizational commission; Gheorghe Vasilescu, veteran,

member of the Bucharest Committee; Alexandru Popescu, secretary of District No. 5 organization; Gheorghe Bratescu, founding member and member of the District No. 1 committee and director of LUMINA review, as well as other members, including young people.

After the presentation of the declaration, a news conference was held. Those who resigned accused Mr. Cunescu of distorting social-democracy; they accused him of isolating the party from trade unions and of rejecting workers who wanted to register as members. He was further accused of censoring publications and of stage-managing the congress proceedings at which he opposed the presence of PSDR veterans delegations and prohibited the access of the press; Mr. Mirea was empowered to deal with this issue which earned the protests of the Journalists' Convention. Stating their anticommunist position—against the "class struggle" and "proletarian dictatorship," which, they said, were promoted by certain members of the National Salvation Front—the resigners declared that they will oppose an alliance with the government formation. This resignation en mass was caused by Mr. Cunescu's refusal to withdraw from parliament, something that was proposed in writing and verbally back in December 1990 by Mr. Mihai Moraru, who resigned one day before the others.

The reservations toward the attitude of some participants in the news conference could be generated by some confusion and uncertainty that may suggest to the public that the gesture of resignation was determined by a resentment of the person rather than because of certain principles. Therefore, Mr. Moraru, among others, emphasized that what is important now is the opposition's unity of struggle against neocommunism not the accusations against a leader who did not honor his investiture. Otherwise there will be nothing but constant disunity without any horizon. In connection with the adherence of the Social Democratic Party—reoriented toward tradition—to the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum, it has been announced that this issue will be discussed after it acquires legal status.

Article Calls For 'United Opposition'

AU2904074491 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 18 Apr 91 p 1

[Apostol Stan article: "A United Opposition"]

[Text] It is known that the Romanian society of today is at the beck and call of a single political party, the FSN [National Salvation Front]. By resorting to all sorts of means, this party managed to impose a rule that has not rid itself of many of the previous regime's shortcomings; its rule relies not only on arbitrary government, through nonobservance of the law, but also on corruption and nepotism. The oppositional political parties were caught in this web of pressures—and even repression, as was the case last June—and failed to unite in a coherent bloc, capable of imposing a viable reforming direction on society.

Marginalized in the legislative forums, where it was reduced to a decorative role, the country's democratic opposition, particularly the young people who do not belong to any party, took over the streets. Consequently, long after the formation of the parliament, many segments of the public tried, through demonstrations and protests, to make up for the lack of an effective parliamentary pressure to counter the FSN's power. Therefore, there were two kinds of opposition forces in the country, both of them followed the same goal, but through different means. First of all, there were the democratic parties in the Parliament, which, after the shock of the miners' earthquake, began to gradually regroup, by concentrating their activity in the legislative sphere, although they were in a minority. Their function was to make proposals for legal alternatives and to keep alive the spirit of democratic reform among the public at large. For months on end, particularly at the end of last year, the FSN was kept busy not so much by this parliamentary opposition, which was annihilated by the ballot machine, but by the opposition in the streets, the only place where the country's broader discontent could still be expressed. The young people and other social categories in Timisoara and Bucharest were vigorously contesting a power that has detached itself so much from the ideals of the December revolution.

Since these demonstrations and protests, particularly in Bucharest, were devoid of a broad perspective—many of them having been organized on the spur of the moment, by inexperienced leaders—the FSN found it easy to divert these demonstrations from their true goal, partially through infiltrations, thus presenting them in the mass media as destabilizing events for the original democracy. However, the Civic Alliance was set up last fall, an organization without political aspirations, but designed to give meaning to the spontaneous movement of dissatisfaction, to contribute to the formation of the civic society, and to educate, through political experience and culture, a world that had just come out of a totalitarian society in which the state confiscated all human rights and freedoms.

The political parties, particularly the PNT-cd [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party], initiated a similar fusion process, which, as of last fall, took concrete shape in the institutionalization of the Antitotalitarian Democratic Forum and, somewhat later, of the National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy. Consequently, the PNT-cd, the PNL [National Liberal Party], the PSD [Social Democratic Party] and the MER [Romanian Ecological Movement] laid the basis for a political foundation, which paved the way for a common platform designed to set up an alternative to the current government. However, one should point out that these bodies—although they identified themselves with the claims of the street, which they expressed on the political stage—did not identify with the actions of the Civic Alliance, which has lately become the most prominent and influential spokesman of various categories of dissatisfied people in the country, including the trade unions.

However, the 12 April action organized by the Civic Alliance in many localities under the slogan "Reform and Truth" was attended not only by hundreds of thousands of participants—even foreshadowing a Romanian-Hungarian unity through democracy, like the local event in Tirgu Mures—but also by the presidents of the three democratic parties. Messrs. Corneliu Coposu, Radu Campeanu, and Sergiu Cunescu were among the demonstrators who answered the call of the Civic Alliance. Asked to make short speeches, the three leaders were hailed with satisfaction by the hundreds of thousands of Bucharest inhabitants. Seeing them together under the banner of the Civic Alliance, the people said about the three leaders: "This is the government," the democratic alternative to the FSN grouping. One cannot say to what extent that slogan will come true. What is certain is that the street opposition, coordinated by the Civic Alliance, and the opposition of the democratic parties, united in the National Convention for the Establishment of Democracy, are on the point of fusing. The imperative requirement for the establishment of an authentic democracy and of a market economy based on private property is so strong that it calls for a united opposition.

Stanculescu on Domestic, Foreign Issues

AU2604170091 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 18 Apr 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Defense Minister Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu by Petre Mihai Bacanu—place and date not given: "There Is Nothing Mysterious About My Relationship With CADA"]

[Text] [Bacanu] Mr. Minister, what question would you like me not to ask you?

[Stanculescu] If I am pleased with the country's current situation!?

[Bacanu] What question would you like to be asked?

[Stanculescu] What are your plans for the future?

[Bacanu] Mr. Minister, what can you tell us about the Romanian Army's current stage of technical endowment? What progress has been made and what have you not been able to do in the period since the revolution?

[Stanculescu] To begin with, to properly answer such a question one should clarify certain basic coordinates: The technical endowment of any army is primarily done in accordance with the requirements of the respective national defense doctrine. Since Romania has recently detached itself from the military structures of the Warsaw Pact, its national defense doctrine must be defined in accordance with the new international circumstances. The implementation of a new defense doctrine calls for a number of conceptual, organizational, and technological material measures, whose final application requires a relatively long period of time, some three to five years.

[Bacanu] This is a bit too vague, Mr. Minister....

[Stanculescu] In view of the relatively short period of time since the revolution, that is only 15 months, and the current socioeconomic conjuncture in Romania, the shifts in the sphere of supplies for the army are not registering any significant progress compared with 1990. Romania ensures about 80 percent of its needs from domestic production, meaning that the following troops are fully equipped with domestically produced technology: armored troops, land artillery, infantry, and chemical and engineer troops. We only import equipment of highly complex technology in quantities that do not justify its development in the country—particularly in the sphere of anti-aircraft defense. The current state of the Romanian Army's technological endowment with domestic or imported equipment is in accordance with previously established indicators, except for a few shortcomings registered in 1990, due to the impact the transition to the market economy had on the economic agents involved in defense production and to the change in the system of payments—everything is done now in hard currency—in transactions with the former socialist countries.

[Bacanu] So, is one to understand that the market economy has also affected the Army?

[Stanculescu] These shortcomings will negatively affect our defense system, and steps have already been taken to recover arrears, once additional funds are made available to us. I would like to mention a few achievements during this very short interval: the reorganization of the activity of economic agents that manufacture military technology on market economy principles; the establishment of new relations between the Ministry of National Defense, as contractor, and the respective economic agents; the reorganization of production within the National Defense Ministry's own units, which have acquired full administrative independence; the reorganization of the system of procurement of military technology from imports; the creation of the framework for participating in military technology auctions; ensuring higher quality indicators for products earmarked for the army than in previous years; and testing the possibility that several foreign partners should participate, in various forms, in modernizing the equipment available to the Romanian Army. As I said from the start, time has not permitted us to finalize all our projects in this field. Here are a few of them: drafting long-term supply programs—for a period of five to 10 years—to radically modernize the army's equipment; finalizing certain supply options, depending on the offers made by our partners during their visits to Romania; ensuring the necessary budget for the stipulated supply levels, in order to finance both the domestically produced products—whose average prices increased between three and five times—and particularly the envisaged imports, where the allotted funds were 33 percent lower than required. I am convinced that the army's engineers and technical personnel in charge of this sphere will shortly work out the necessary solutions to ensure proper supplies for the

army, something which, as shown by the latest military conflicts, is a decisive element in ensuring the combat capacity of any army.

[Bacanu] Romania belonged to a system of military alliances. After the dismantlement of the Warsaw Pact, what are the intentions of the Ministry of National Defense?

[Stanculescu] We were not caught unawares by this moment. As of last year, we started thinking about this transition from the bloc system to a system designed to lead to general European security; we set out from the idea that this is going to be a long-term process. Of course, our contacts were primarily directed toward our neighbors—as a matter of fact, our first cooperation accord was signed with Hungary last fall. We also got in touch with the West European armies, and we are in an advanced stage of negotiating a treaty with France. We also have drafts of bilateral agreements, which are at advanced stages of finalization, with the armies of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the USSR. We have undertaken steps to establish similar accords with the armies of Switzerland, Great Britain, Belgium, Italy, Spain, Turkey, the Czech and Slovak Republic, the United States, Indonesia, and China. This enumeration alone is a clear indication of our country's and Army's desire to establish bilateral contacts, which will enhance mutual trust and thus contribute to guaranteeing Romania's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

[Bacanu] There is much speculation about your hypothetical meeting with King Mihai. What is your opinion about the monarchy?

[Stanculescu] Former King Mihai wanted to meet with a member of the government, and I deemed it necessary to know his reasons and wishes. Our discussion was limited to information on the situation in the country. One thing is clear: the Army does not want a monarchic regime in the country. In my opinion, the monarchy cannot be a solution for the present or the future—it belongs to the Romanian state's history.

[Bacanu] I would like another clarification, in connection with your relations with CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army], which are also cloaked in mystery. What are your intentions about reactivating the CADA officers and relaunching this movement for the democratization of the Army?

[Stanculescu] There is nothing at all mysterious about my relations with CADA! There was such a committee, which played a positive role in the beginning, but which unfortunately was turned toward less honest goals, which did not agree with their status of military cadres. All those who were put in reserve—there are distinct cases of officers who, I repeat, have exceeded their status and strict obligations deriving from their military profession—have placed themselves under some political shield or appeared at meetings of an obviously political nature, thus placing the committee to which they belonged under such a dangerous tutelage. Nobody, regardless of whether he is in power or in the opposition, should tolerate or encourage political affiliations in the Army, since they generate tension and instability in an institution which, in a state of law, must be the guarantor of stability. The respective officers failed to properly grasp this principle. Concerning the efforts to relaunch the movement for the democratization of the institutions currently operating in the Army—such as the Army's Civil Status Commission and the associations of military cadres—and the democratization of daily life, I believe that the contacts with the dynamic realities of Romania's overall social life will further generate stimulants for the Army's renewal. It is wrong to believe that this process has been halted with the putting in reserve of a number of officers—a mere handful altogether, or just four, to be more precise—who violated some basic rules of military life. The renewal process of the Army is continuing.

[Bacanu] Mr. Magureanu's [head of the Romanian Intelligence Service] hints at the fact that the Ministry of National Defense listens in on telephone conversations are quite unambiguous. Do officers from your ministry tap telephone conversations?

[Stanculescu] No. No way. As a matter of fact, as I said at various news conference, there is no department in the Ministry of National Defense that purports to cut in on telephone conversations.

[Bacanu] Mr. Chirica, minister of telecommunications, said that all centers for tapping telephone conversations have been taken over by the Army. Do you think that the public would be put at ease if you were to publish the complete list of these tapping centers? With their addresses and new assignments.

[Stanculescu] The former tapping centers—disconnected in the immediate period after December 1989, hence, canceled from a technical-operational viewpoint—no longer exist. There are no such units within the Army, hence we cannot brief you about them. As for the new assignment of these centers, I believe that details can be provided by the relevant civilian telecommunications services.

[Bacanu] Both the Ministry of Interior and the Romanian Intelligence Service deny that former Securitate safe houses are still in use. Since, as far as we know, they were not returned to the ICRAL [expansion unknown, presumably house administration center] it would mean that today they still belong to the Ministry of National Defense. What is the destination of these houses?

[Stanculescu] The great majority of the aforementioned dwellings were given to military cadres in need of housing. The rest was put at the disposal of Bucharest sector townhalls, which allotted them to homeless citizens. At the moment, the Ministry of National Defense does not have any dwellings that belonged to the former Securitate.

[Bacanu] If you were no longer a minister, what would you do all day?

[Stanculescu] There are enough activities to keep my interest—activities which I could not take part in for a long time—such as, spending more time with my family, literature, theater, films, concerts, and last but not least life in the fresh air, to know in detail each corner of our beautiful country!

[Bacanu] Mr. Minister, it so happens that ROMANIA LIBERA itself published the statement of an officer—who was then put in the reserves, only to be returned to active duty later—according to which you visit Libya twice in January 1990. If this is true, did you also get in touch with representatives of the Mathaba [terrorist organization with headquarters in Tripoli]?

[Stanculescu] As far as I recall, that officer was never placed in the reserves. In January 1990, I was minister of national economy and did not visit Libya. This should answer your question.

[Bacanu] To continue the series of indiscreet questions, what does the Ministry of National Defense know about another notorious terrorist movement, Fatah, which had training camps and operational bases in Romania, following an agreement concluded with Nicolae Ceausescu?

[Stanculescu] I do not know about the existence of such an accord. Anyway, these questions should be put to those who led the former State Security Department at that time.

[Bacanu] What event impressed you most in the period since the revolution?

[Stanculescu] I know that a journalist, who is good at his job, should not be impressed by anything. It seems to me that this deontological requirement fully applies to career officers, as well!

[Bacanu] The Supreme Defense Council, and the subsequently established secretariat, put you under triple subordination: to the government; to the council, which is presided over by Mr. President Iliescu; and even to the secretary of this council, which, as I have heard, is an Army officer removed by you from the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense. Does this system put too drastic a limit on your prerogatives?

[Stanculescu] The use of improper terms—they appear by mistake—alien to the constitutional theory and practice can cause serious confusion in understanding the state mechanism and the institutional framework of the system of our democracy. Such a term, often "pirated" by the press, is that of "subordination." A minister, including the minister of national defense, is not in a position of double, triple, or multiple subordination to other bodies, but, in keeping with the theses of the constitution, he is subordinated to the prime minister, who, in accordance with the provisions of our basic charter "runs the government, coordinates the activity of ministers, by observing their prerogatives in accordance with the law, and accounts before the Parliament, for the government's activity." In his turn, the prime minister, together with the entire governmental team, is subordinated to the Parliament, which "approves the composition and program of the government" and which also has other prerogatives in this relationship of governmental subordination. The relations between the minister of national defense and the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country—this is its correct name, as stipulated by Law No. 39/1990—cannot be relations of subordination, since he is not a member of the council. You cannot be subordinated to a body that you do not belong to. The minister of national defense has identical rights with those of other council members, including the adoption of this body's decisions by equal vote, hence, equal even to the vote of the president. Of course, like "all the country's citizens and all concerned institutions and units"—as stipulated by Article 9 of the respective law—the minister of national defense must submit to the council's decisions. The relationship of subordination only applies to the relations between the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country, in its entirety, and the Parliament, with the latter "controlling" the activity of the Council. Therefore, if the defense minister is not subordinated to the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country, it cannot be subordinated to its secretariat, which, according to Article 4 of the aforementioned law, is a body entrusted with the task of implementing the council's prerogatives, that is executing its decisions; this means that the defense minister is certainly not subordinated to the person appointed to head that secretariat, regardless of whether that person was removed or not from the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense.

As you can see, there are no confines on the prerogatives of either the minister, or the Ministry of National Defense, as they are stipulated by the constitution and the country's laws. The citizens may rest assured. The same applies to you.

[Bacanu] Have you thought about a renewal at the leadership of the Army?

[Stanculescu] The very complex process of renewing changes specific to our military body cannot proceed without a new and courageous approach, which is not hampered by a stiffened way of thinking on the part of the responsible cadres at all military levels; neither does it exclude experience, the need to climb various stages in the military hierarchy, or the requirements for vast professional knowledge. These considerations make us show discernment in applying the maxim: "New people for new times." There is no doubt that new people have been introduced in leading positions at all Army levels, including in the ministry's leadership. Cadres who have reached the age limit established by the statutes of the military corps were gradually retired—this process is continuing—thus permitting the promotion of new cadres at all levels. The promotion criteria for leading positions take into consideration the professionalism, the quality of accumulated knowledge, the passion and perseverance on the job, and the real value of the individual aspiring toward a higher career stage.

[Bacanu] According to a possible interpretation of last year's law, the Army is entitled and, in certain instances, even obliged to fire on citizens. Can you conceive of a situation in which you would personally issue such an order? In your opinion, would it still be possible for the Army to fire on the people?

[Stanculescu] I believe that when one interprets a law, one should be very exact about it; the same applies to the law itself, which should not leave room for erroneous interpretations. The law on the organization and functioning of the Ministry of National Defense clearly lays down the tasks devolving upon us, including the task of ensuring the constitutional order. The answer to your question lies in the very text of the aforementioned law, Chapter III, Article 12, Paragraph "E," which stipulates that "the Ministry of National Defense implements the cooperation plan with the Ministry of Interior for guarding and defending important units in the national territory and for maintaining and ensuring the lawful order." From this clarification, to the given interpretation of "suppressing the people," the distance can only be covered tendentiously and in ill faith. The Army has not and will never fire on its own people. There were moments in our tumultuous history when the Army was used as a force of repression, but even then it did not fire on the people. Can one consider the Army's suppression of the Iron-Guardist rebellion as an action against the people or as an action to defend the state, its institutions, and various units of national interest against the actions of extremists? I or any other military commander, as well as the entire Army will defend the state of law and the constitutional order, against any extremist, provocative, and terrorist threats.

[Bacanu] Is it true that Romania bought outdated armament from the Soviet Union?

[Stanculescu] This news item was published by your own daily, and I regret to have to say that the lack of any real basis for this allegation casts a shadow on the professionalism of the journalists, who are dutybound to minutely check all information received—including its sources—before releasing it, and not fall prey to "sensationalism." After due apologies for this shrouded answer, let us return to the matter at hand: I will repeat something I said last year at my first news conference. For reasons I do not wish to dwell on now, the Ministry of National Defense is interested in acquiring high performance armament and military technology for our Army at convenient prices, in keeping with free market prerequisites, and under as advantageous conditions as possible. Today, nobody can force you to buy outdated military technology and if you do that it means you are a poor businessman! As I already said at some point in the past, we are looking both East and West in this respect—our sole concern being with the qualitative level and modern value of the respective material and the peculiarities of our national defense.

[Bacanu] Thank you.

Trial of Former Communists Resumes in Bucharest

AU3004182091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1628 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—The trial of the defendants standing charges of genocide, abetting genocide and other crimes associated with the bloody repression of the December 1989 revolution in Timisoara was resumed in Bucharest, on April 30.

The Supreme Court of Justice, Military Department, resumed the trial where it was adjourned consequent to the cessation of the sentence to remand the case to the procurator's office for completing the penal prosecution.

The president of the court, Justice Colonel Cornel Badoiu, demanded the parties to state their view on the necessity to continue administering the evidences, assessing that the proposals in that connection had to pursue: the informative activity, in order to establish what lay at the foundation of the decision to make a bloodbath of the revolution, the command activity as regarded the starting of the fire on the demonstrators and the actual firing, the repressive actions, other than those consisting of the use of firearms, the concrete activity in Timisoara of the 24 defendants, former members of the Executive Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, leading cadres of the Ministry of the Interior and the Council of State Security, Militia and Securitate officers, other persons involved in the repression of the December 1989 events, starting December 16, 1989, the transport of the 40 bodies from the Timis County Hospital to the Bucharest Crematory, to the end of establishing the criteria underlying their selection.

The court decided to postpone the pronouncement as regarded the evidences proposed by prosecutors and defendants' lawyers, as well as the motions to call off the measure of preventive arrest for other reasons than the defendants' health condition (their innocence) for May 15.

As for the applications for release for health reasons, the court ruled the immediate putting to specialty medical units of the respective defendants in view of medical investigation. It is to pronounce in keeping with the results of the medical investigation.

Civic Alliance Opposes USSR Treaty Ratification

AU0105075391 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 26 Apr 91 p 1

[Appeal by the Civic Alliance to the Romanian Parliament; place and date not given: "Bessarabia: a Teardrop of My Nation"]

[Text] In connection with the act of signing the treaty of "cooperation, good neighborliness, and friendship" between Romania and the USSR and its imminent presentation to the parliament for ratification:

The Civic Alliance wants to draw attention to the fact that, since our government has not declared null and void—as far as Romania is concerned—the Soviet-German Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August 1939 (which opened the path for World War II and allowed the signatory sides to annex by force territories that historically did not belong to them), the current treaty with the USSR would only endanger—from a legal point of view—the unjust annexation of the Romanian territories between the Prut and Dniester Rivers, North Bukovina, the Hetza region, and Serpent Island.

The parliament's action of ratifying the treaty would be equal to repudiating the claims of our brothers in the Republic of Moldova to live freely and independently in a sovereign state and, what is even more serious, would accredit the Soviet theses according to which there used to be another nation between the Prut and Dniester Rivers and not the one that was historically formed on the millennia-old territory of the ancient Dacia.

It is one thing not to demand the dismantlement of frontiers that were decided upon at a certain political conjuncture—and which are still being maintained—and it is totally different to accept these frontiers as just and final, at a historical moment when European nations are at the point of gaining complete sovereignty, independence, and freedom to decide on their future.

To abandon the Romanians in Bessarabia and North Bukovina means an act of national treason, which history will punish one day.

The Civic Alliance calls on the parliament not to assume such a responsibility as to ratify this treaty.

The Civic Alliance

Foreign Minister, CSFR Counterpart Hold Talks

AU2604200291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1936 GMT 26 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/4/1991—On Friday [26 April] Adrian Nastase, Romania's minister of foreign affairs, had an interview with Jiri Dienstbier, vice-premier and minister of foreign affairs of the Czech and Slovak Republic.

Analysis was made of the measures to intensify the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations by better organizing exchanges of visits at governmental as well as higher levels. The ministers agreed that the two Foreign Ministries support the relaunching and expansion of the economic and cultural ties between Romania and Czechoslovakia. They also established that discussions begin at the level of experts for the elaboration of a new bilateral treaty to replace the treaty of mutual assistance and collaboration signed in 1968.

The two ministers exchanged opinions on the current concerns regarding the building of European security and emphasis was placed on the importance of the first meeting of the council of the CSCE member countries' ministers due to be held in Berlin. In the context, they discussed the role of subregional groups and arrangements, the necessity that they should not lead to artificial divisions between Eastern European countries.

The ministers established that consultations be organized between the representatives of the Romanian and Czechoslovak Foreign Ministries in connection with those questions of major interest for the two countries.

Officials React to Manescu's Budapest Visit

AU3004093791 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Apr 91 p 3

[Peter Mag report]

[Text] Upon his return to Bucharest, Corneliu Manescu stated: "We were received very cordially and were given a great deal of attention." The government party senator, chairman of the Romanian Senate's foreign affairs committee, was thereby assessing the negotiations of the delegation he had personally led in Budapest.

Manescu said: "During these two or three days, the two foreign affairs committees and the members of the negotiating delegations worked very hard. We were able to draw a better outline of the issues on our agenda, and as parliamentary representatives, we thereby contributed to the solution of these issues."

Attila Verestoy, senator and member of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], was one of the Romanian parliamentary delegates in Budapest. He pointed out: "A calm and clear atmosphere was the main characteristic of our negotiations. I hope that, for our part, this will now lead to an improvement in the current atmosphere of suspicion that only serves to increase Romanian-Hungarian tensions. Indeed, even though Romanian-Hungarian relations do not strictly speaking come under Romania's domestic policy, they are inevitably linked to our domestic policy. In other words, the settling of these relations would contribute to an improvement in our domestic tensions, and it would contribute to internal reconciliation in Romania.

Ion Ratiu, from the National Peasant Christian Democratic party of Romania, made the following statement concerning the Budapest talks: "Romanian-Hungarian relations undoubtedly took a big step forward. Our hosts were very keen on improving our relations, and this was made clear everywhere, particularly during our meeting with President Arpad Goncz. We are looking forward to the visit of our partners to Bucharest, so that we may take further steps toward an improvement in the relations between our countries."

Petru Burca, from the Romanian National Unity Party, made the following comment: "There was great need for these talks, which took place in a spirit of mutual goodwill. We took a significant step. I would make a special mention of the hospitable reception organized for

us by the Hungarian head of state and the speaker of the Hungarian Parliament [Gyorgy Szabad]. Both of them talked to us with great goodwill, and not for a moment did we have the impression that they were making the development of our future relations dependent on specific requirements. Unfortunately, I cannot say the same about our talks with Mr. Horn [chairman of the Hungarian Parliament's foreign affairs committee]. Indeed, during these talks, the Hungarian side lay down certain requirements. In the end, we agreed that when they made a return visit to Bucharest, we would present them with similar statements."

On Thursday night [25 April], Romanian President Ion Iliescu also commented on Romanian-Hungarian relations. In a news conference that lasted for several hours—into the late hours of the night—the Romanian head of state said that he had met with Hungary's Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in London, and that they had discussed these issues. Iliescu had also mentioned these issues in a statement he made to Hungarian Television. Iliescu continued: "First of all, they have to understand Romanians, who lived under foreign oppression for several centuries, and whose national rights were not recognized. Bearing this in mind, they have to understand Romanian sensitivities on the occasion of such events—like the conference on Transylvania recently organized in Eger—where such revisionist tendencies come to the fore." Iliescu added: "At the same time, we also have to understand Hungarians, who were a ruling nation for so many centuries, and who suddenly find themselves in a national minority group. Clearly, this has acted as a psychological shock, and it stimulates certain sensitivities. We both need to bear witness to a necessary understanding, because extremism does not help either of us, and it does not help us overcome these suspicions. I think that we need to bear witness to realism in this domain."

Trade Minister Fota on EEC Cooperation

AU3004201891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1957 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/4/1991—The cooperation agreement between Romania and the European Economic Community, signed by Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman and ratified by the parliaments of the two sides, comes into force on May 1.

In this connection, Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota told a "ROMPRES" reporter: "As far as the foreign economic activity is concerned, this is a landmark moment for Romania. The significance of the agreement resides in the tangible financial and commercial consequences it bears for Romanian exports and generally for the relations with the EEC countries. The agreement removes a number of quantitative and discriminatory restrictions put by the EEC countries on various Romanian exports. It also provides for the increase of the exports to which the European Community applied such restrictions in all countries.

"Secondly, the Romanian industrial products will benefit by a preferential customs treatment, the same as all the other developing countries. That is to say that the Romanian industrial products will be exported duty-free.

Thirdly, also to enter into force on May 1, are the arrangements under which Romania is to receive financial support both as part of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] programme and of the Group-of-24 assistance programme. Then, I should add the cooperation opportunities of great interest to both sides, in such fields as personnel training, management, and others. The agreement is a first, yet very important, step towards a tighter cooperation with the European economic community".

Romania pursues the conclusions of an association agreement with the EEC, and, in the long run, to become a member of the EEC.

Neagu Visits EEC, Asks About 'Adherence'

AU2704161091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1352 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/4/1991—Possibilities of talks this year on Romania's adherence to the EEC were approached during the discussions Mr. Romulus Neagu, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, member of the government, had at the Brussels headquarters of the European Economic Community.

The Romanian dignitary enlarged upon the way in which the programme for reform and transition to the market economy was implemented in Romania and underscored the importance for those changes of the EEC financial commitments relative to Romania.

J.L. Cadieux, deputy director general for external relations of the EEC Commission, the collocutor of the Romanian representative, said that the reform in Romania enjoyed the support of the Common Market, through the materialization of the economic and financial aid agreed upon included. In that framework, steps were examined conducive to the finalization of the cooperation ventures Romania and the Common Market agreed upon and to the implementation of the assistance programme.

Foreign Trade Figures: Imports Up, Exports Down

AU2704132791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0734 GMT 27 Apr 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 27/4/1991—Imports grow and exports decline, this is the result of the foreign trade activity in 1990 and the period until now of 1991.

Export continued its decline in the first three months of 1991, totalling 363.8 million rubles and 658.1 million dollars, which means 50 per cent less in clearing rubles and 30 per cent less in free currency than in the same period of 1990.

Imports amounted to 374.7 million rubles and 1,268.9 million dollars, which is by 67 per cent less in clearing rubles and 10 per cent more in free currency as compared with the same period of 1990.

Short-term credits as well as most of the sums received from the IMF (totalling over 404.6 million dollars) were employed to even the balance of foreign payments.

Also, payments were engaged for future imports which totalled 631 million dollars on April 15, 1991. The need for imports to supply the national economy, while the takings from exports have drastically dropped, calls for urgently engaging foreign credits.

Action is being taken together with the economic agents for the revigoration of export in the months ahead.

Presidents Fail To Reach Accord on Referendum

LD2904202591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1927 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Cetinje, April 29 (TANJUG)—The presidents of the Yugoslav republics at today's summit in Cetinje, in the Republic of Montenegro, were unable to reach an agreement on the referendum at which citizens should vote on the organization of the country within their respective federal units.

A joint communique, read at a news conference held after the summit, cites that the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro insist that the referendum be held in all the republics at the same time and the questions which citizens are to answer be the same.

The two republics also believe that the peoples should vote at the referendum. In the opposite case, out-voting by majority peoples in the republics would occur, according to Serbia and Montenegro. Parts of certain peoples living outside their native republic would become a national minority.

The Slovenian president maintained the view that a referendum was held in the republic late last year at which a convincing majority voted in favour of independence and a soverign state.

Macedonia asked that the deadline for holding the referendum be postponed to June 15 in order to carry out necessary preparations.

It was cited in the communique that Bosnia-Hercegovina will propose that citizens first vote on whether they are in favour of a sovereign republic within Yugoslavia and then on Yugoslavia's character.

Serbia and Montenegro believe that the negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia cannot continue without the participation of the federal organs. The two republics believe that an expanded meeting of the Yugoslav state presidency, which would also be attended by republican presidents, should continue the discussion on the referendum.

People's Army Statement Denies Leadership Split

LD3004140791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is fully united in its assessment of the situation in our society, over the measures for overcoming the current situation in the country, and the Army's role in securing conditions for a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis. This is said in the following statement issued by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense:

"Recent claims, disseminated by some sections of the media, the leaders of some parties, and even by some high-ranking state leaders, about an alleged lack of unity among the officers of the inner Army leadership, and their split into those who advocate conservatism and a nationalist line on one hand, and the democrats and Yugoslav-oriented personalities on the other, are incorrect and extremely tendencious."

Such speculations are part of an anti-Army campaign inspired and perpetrated by the proponents of separatism, and of republican and national armies. They see the unity of the JNA and its leadership as the main obstacle on the way to achieving their goals. Premeditated attacks on the Army as an all-Yugoslav institution are part of this plan.

Manipulations with an alleged split in the military hierarchy are designed to cause divisions and disunity in the Army and, primarily among the officer cadre on national grounds. Utmost efforts are being invested to distance the JNA from the people, and to render it incapable of carrying out its tasks and responsibilities as set by the Constitution.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense wishes to take this opportunity once again to inform the Yugoslav public that unity, traditional comradeship, and mutual respect hold sway among the most responsible officers of the JNA, as well as among the officer cadre, soldiers, and basic units. We lay particular stress on the fact that the Army leadership, in line with the principle of strict subordination and other principles of military organization, which it constantly works on improving, is fully united in its assessment of the situation in our society, and over the measures to overcome the situation in the country and the role of the Army in securing conditions for a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The unanimity of commitment and stands is being consolidated and reaffirmed, despite the present crisis. This will continue to be the case in the future," the statement says in conclusion. [no opening quotation marks as received]

Bosanska Krajina Leader Comments on Program

LD2904171191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Banja Luka, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—We want Cazin, Bihac, Kladusa, Bosanski Novi, Bosanska Krupa, Prijedor, Jajce, Gornji, Donji Vakuf, and Bugojno to join us. Then we will not be able to be reproached for creating a Serbian community of municipalities of Bosanska Krajina. This was stated at today's news conference by Vojo Kupresanin, chairman of the assembly of the newly founded community of municipalities of Bosanska Krajina.

Repeating that this community primarily has an economic and cultural program and not a national and political program, Kupresanin added that it was created as a defense against the outflow of resources and the rapid economic stagnation of this region.

"It is misinformation of the first order to say that we want to join Serbia, because Bosnia-Hercegovina is our fatherland, to which we have sworn allegiance. We want

to live in harmony and on a basis of equality with our fraternal Muslims and Croats, despite the fact that at the recent meeting of the Party of Democratic Action in Banja Luka we saw Croatian and Muslim flags knotted together, but they did not include Serbian flags," Kupresanin said.

Tudjman Claims Plans Mark Him For Assassination

LD2904203391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Cetinje April 29 (TANJUG)—The president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, told a news conference in Cetinje, Republic of Montenegro, today that assassinations were being prepared against "him and others".

Replying to a journalist's question why he was the only president of the Yugoslav republics who came in a bullet-proof BMW, Tudjman said that reports about an as assasination had come from "Yugoslavia and three European states".

This was followed by laughter in the crowded conference room, and Tudjman, insulted by this, said that as far as he was concerned, the news conference was over. He bid goodbye to his host, Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, and left.

Banja Luka Joins Community of Municipalities

LD2904195591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1730 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Banja Luka, April 29 (TANJUG)—The Banja Luka Municipal Assembly today took a decision for the municipality to join the newly founded Community of Municipalities of Bosanska Krajina.

Bosanska Krajina is in the western part of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Its largest town, Banja Luka, is to be the centre of the new community.

The community is made up of municipalities which are predominantly populated by Serbs. It borders with the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina which was founded in the Republic of Croatia late last year.

The decision on the joining of the Banja Luka municipality to the Community of Municipalities of Bosanska Krajina was taken by the Municipal Assembly after assembly members who represent the Muslim Democratic Action Party and the Croatian Democratic Union, which disapprove of the new municipal community, walked out of the session.

The Democratic Action Party, which rallies Muslims, is the individually strongest party in the Bosnia-Hercegovina legislature. The Croatian Democratic Union rallies Croats as its name indicates.

The municipalities predominantly populated by Serbs in the south-eastern part of Bosnia-Hercegovina have also announced that they will form a community.

Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina feel that the forming of municipal communities is the best way of protecting their interests.

Bosnia-Hercegovina is a multi-national republic. [Word indistinct] 40 percent of its population are Muslims, 32 percent Serbs, and 17 percent Croats.

Army Still Stationed in Knin Area

AU2904203391 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] Members of the [word indistinct] corps of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] are still stationed in the part of this commune at the foot of the Dinara Mountain and members of the Benkovac Garrison of the JNA are stationed around Benkovac and Obrovac. We have tried to reach the center of events, but this was simply impossible. Whenever we contacted them, JNA members were very pleasant, but Polaca is still the farthest one can go from the direction of Knin.

We have received a report from Gracac that the building of the (?Bico Kesic) Secondary School Center was bombed early this morning. We have also learned that the Gracac committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] and the school management made statements on this occasion. We have also learned that the worst damage was done to the geography room. The school management says in its announcement that this is only one of the series of cases of violent and vandalistic behavior against the school center's property that shows that certain forces in the center have firmly decided to, as they put it, defend their lost positions and make the work of the new people impossible. However, the Gracac Communal SDS Committee claims that what is involved is another example of, as they put it, the activity of young Croatian dumdum democracy.

Posters and invitations have been made—one of which we also received—announcing that a group of people is going to organize a meeting of Gospic citizens in the Gospic Jasikovac Park on Labor Day, 1 May at 1400 and expresses support for the formation of a new local community, Eastern Gospic. According to this information, a referendum on dividing Gospic into a western and eastern part will be held on 12 May.

Croatia Reportedly Plans Purchasing 100 Tanks

LD3004103191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0923 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, April 30 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Croatia intends to buy 100 M-48 tanks from the Yugoslav manufacturer Djuro Djakovic. The tanks

were originally intended for Kuwait but that country gave up purchasing them after the gulf war ended.

Citing well-informed sources in Croatia, the weekly supplement of the Zagreb daily VJESNIK, VJESNIK U SRIJEDU, today assessed that "There is no such possibility in practice" as the regulations of the present Yugoslav community do not allow it.

The paper, published in Croatia's capital, says that the purchase of tanks is linked with "Croatia's most serious preparations for independent defence policy" as well as with the "Croatian Parliament's decision a few days ago to set up a corps of the national guard."

Croatia cannot purchase arms abroad, writes the paper, as "Federal laws ban the purchase of arms, military equipment and modern combat gear without federal institutions' permit."

The paper recalls a recent arms scandal, when Croatia imported Kalashnikov machine-guns from Hungary because the "federal leadership did not allow Croatia to obtain arms at home. [quotation marks as received]

Croatian-Run Police Station Formed in Oklaj

LD3004111991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0940 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—A group of Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry (MUP) members has been deployed in the village of Oklaj since yesterday. Oklaj is a village 15 kilometers south of Knin. It was once the municipal center. The deployment of an MUP unit confirms the Croatian authorities' determination to set up a string of police stations throughout the Knin area.

The population of Oklaj is predominantly Croatian, but surrounding villages are populated by Serbs. No incident has been reported so far.

Croatia Interior Ministry, Military Discuss Plans

LD3004134491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1843 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Josip Boljkovac held talks in Zagreb with Colonel General Konrad Kolsek, commander of the Fifth Military District, and Colonel Bosko Kelecevic.

At the focus of attention, Croatian TV reported this evening, was the area of operations of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Fifth Military District regarding security in Croatia, especially in the area of Plitvice.

It was agreed, more or less, not to allow the announced gathering of citizens in Plitvice scheduled for 1 and 2 May this year, and to secure for the working group of the Croatian Chamber of Economy and the management board of the Plitvice work organization conditions for their unimpaired work.

An agreement was also reached on further official talks and meetings not only with the Fifth Military District but also with the Split Naval District. Apart from Minister Boljkovac, also participating in the talks were Croatian minister's Slavko Degoricija, deputy minister of internal affairs, and Josip Perkovic, deputy minister for national defense.

Kijevo Residents Remain at Police Station

LD3004142791 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Excerpt] A journalist from Croatian radio, Jadran Marinkovic, today succeeded in entering the village of Kijevo [Croatian village south of Knin], which is surrounded on all sides.

[Begin Marinkovic recording] While talking to (Ante Bajan), president of the local community of Kijevo, we learned and saw that almost the whole of Kijevo is in front of the police station. I would say that my initial assessment as a journalist is that there are about 200 people, including children, women, and old people. All are in a state of expectation as to what the coming minutes and the coming hours will bring. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Croatian Council Assails Army, Notes Demands

LD3004165491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today convened the third session of the Supreme State Council, which discussed changes in the government and the council, a report about the SFRY Presidency, the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] stand toward Croatia, the situation in Kijevo, and other current political issues.

Maritime Affairs Minister Davorin Rudolf was proposed for the post of Croatian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Minister Rudolf will retain his current post.

The session assessed that the presence of Army forces in Kijevo and the surrounding areas has led to fresh tensions in the Croatian Republic and that it has unnecessarily aroused hatred between the Croatian people and the JNA. Extreme circles in Army ranks, which are currently strong, are hampering the process of establishing peace and order in all parts of the Croatian Republic, despite the assurances that the Army will support the establishment of the rule of law and respect legitimacy of the Croatian authorities. In doing so, parts of the Army have once again sided with outlaws who are threatening security, order, and peace in parts of the republics.

It was assessed that the strengthening of Greater Serbian extremism among the Army ranks is linked with the regular change of the head of the SFRY Presidency and with the fact that Yugoslavia has entered the final stage of its constitutional and political crisis.

To resolve this situation peacefully, the Croatian Republic will address the republican presidency and the Federal Government, and will demand a more energetic stand and action from them regarding the protection of the constitutional order of the Croatian Republic. Croatia will brief federal bodies about the economic and political harm that Croatia and Yugoslavia have suffered, for which the Army is partly responsible.

The Council is resolute in its view that, if JNA units continue to hamper the process of establishing constitutional order in the republic, the Croatian Republic will review its stand toward the JNA and federal bodies, and it may possibly refuse to finance the Army and may use other available measures for the protection of the soveriegnty and interests of the Croatian Republic.

Croatia Plans To Form Foreign Exchange Market

AU3004174991 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Apr 91 p 6

[HINA report: "Bank Rescue Operations"]

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 25 April—At the annual meeting of the Commercial Bank of Croatia held today, Croatian National Bank Govenor Ante Cicin-Sain stated: "We welcome in principle the program of the Federal Executive Council for starting the foreign exchange market, but we view it with a considerable amount of skepticism because we do not see how the Federal Government can finance for all the promises made to the public." Cicin-Sain also said that the mechanism for the internal foreign exchange market in the Republic of Croatia has already been worked out and that the market could be activated any time, when this is found to be necessary. [passage omitted]

Croatian Government Rejects Draft Federal Bills

LD3004193191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1856 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The government of the Croatian Republic this evening rejected the majority of some 20 draft federal bills, including a draft bill on the volume of the federal budget expanditure for this year. Its stand, already known, was reiterated, that republics should finance minimum needs at the level of the country through substantially reduced republican contributions.

Until the final agreement on the country's new order is reached, only funds for the Yugoslav People's Army (but considerably less than called for by the federal budget this year), the money for veterans and invalids' protection in line with federal laws, and the money to operate the federal administrative bodies, at a reduced rate, can count as a common expenditure.

Republics and provinces will set the level of all other expenditures and policies in the area of economic and social welfare intervention and the financial recovery of the banking system. All revenue from the basic turnover tax collected on Croatian territory belongs to the republican budget as its income at source.

The government also adopted a decision that the minimal wage for the period beteen 1 April and 30 June of this year is 3,560 dinars, which represents a 6.4 percent increase compared to the previous months.

Milan Djukic was elected head of the bureau for interethnic relations.

Croatian Town Urges National Salvation Government

LD3004215391 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] We demand from our leaders, the government, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that the Croatian people and the citizens who consider Croatia to be their motherland should be armed immediately, that Croatian recruits should immeditely start doing their military service in their own motherland—the Croatian Republic—and that any further financing of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army should be stopped forthwith. This, among other things, was stated during the cultural meeting tonight, which, under the aegis of the Slavonski Brod branch of the Croatian National Party, was held in the town's central Ivan Vrlic-Mazuranic Park in the presence of several thousand towns people. They demanded that a law-governed state should be established throughout the territory of the Republic of Croatia and that public support should be given for the protection of Croats in Vojvodina and of the Albanians in Kosovo. President Tudjman was called on to immediately form a government of national salvation in Croatia.

Zagreb Assembly Demands Army Return to Barracks

LD3004214591 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] In a special statement (?adopted during) their session today, the Zagreb City Assembly councillors demand that all further financing of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] stop until the army has returned to its barracks; that the dispatch of Croatian recruits to JNA should be suspended as long as the army presents ultimatums to Croatian authorities; and that the JNA Supreme Commander, that is, the federal presidency, should be asked to state clearly whether it recognizes Croatian authorities in Croatia or whether it does not recognize them.

Mayor of Split Visits Kijevo

LD3004212491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Summary] The mayor of Split paid a visit this afternoon to the village of Kijevo and its surrounding area. He

visited the police station and talked to the local inhabitants and army representatives. On his return he made the following short statement:

[Begin Split mayor recording] "We came there as a result of the agreement that we should visit our police station and see what is required to keep it supplied. We came to an understanding with the authorities, that is, the army, that normal provision of supplies and normal traffic should be established and also that normal life necessities should be safeguarded for our police station. Also, regarding the fact that shots are sometimes fired from the hills nearby, we received guarantees that specific measures will be taken by appropriate people so these attacks can be stopped." [end recording]

Armed Groups in Brsadin After Ethnic Clash

LD0105134491 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Stevan Milic was killed this morning in the village of Brsadin, where there was much activity by armed civilians last night. He was killed by Mihajlo [name indistinct], who fired a shot at his head. The police station in Vukovar announced that an investigation is under way. The incident was described as an ethnic conflict; as a result barriers were erected on the Vukovar-Vinkovci road near the village of Brsadin. The local inhabitants, mainly Serbs, will not permit the police to carry out the investigation, saying that the Army should do so. The police authorities are negotiating with the Vukovar Serbian Democratic Party leaders, asking the local people to calm down and to allow the investigation to proceed. Armed groups are being formed in Brsadin, firing assorted firearms.

Reports of Overnight Disturbances in Zadar

LD0105141091 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 1 May 91

[Text] Zadar, 1 May (TANJUG)—Just after midnight last night a large group of as yet unidentified people caused disturbances in the Zadar suburb of Bili Brig. According to Radio Zadar today, 10 shops were demolished, eight belonging to citizens of Serbian nationality and two to Croats.

According to unofficial reports, at least six cars were also damaged in this suburb with a large number of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] officer families.

Army Tanks, Croat Police Remain in Plitvice

AU0105151791 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 May 91

[Milos Rajkovic report]

[Text] Our next report is from Gospic where ethnic Serb citizens are holding a meeting. At this meeting, a decision should be made on creating the eastern Gospic local commune and then organizing a referendum on the secession of this part of the commune and its joining the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina.

[Rajkovic] The Serbs from this part of Croatia no longer want to live under the authorities who are denying elementary human rights to them. This is the message from this meeting held at the Jasikovac Memorial Park, near the (?Weeping) Mother Monument, at the place of great sufferings of the Serb people during the liberation of Gospic in 1945.

Mirko Plecas of the Serbian Democratic Party said that one example of Serb national rights being denied is that there is not a single Serb among the approximately 50 newly-elected directors and [word indistinct] leaders in the commune, although Serbs comprise one-half of the commune's population.

It is expected that the decision will be adopted at this meeting on forming the eastern Gospic local commune and thus to the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. The referendum will most probably be held on 12 May.

A great uneasiness is felt here on the eve of the tomorrow's Serbs' protest march on Plitvice. In the Plitvice national park itself, tank crews of the Yugoslav People's Army are positioned on all key positions. The army is also positioned near the village of Ljubovo along the Titova Korenica-Gospic road. Only about 100 meters away from the army members, there are special forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs who are controlling all passing vehicles.

Local Serbs were particularly upset by an incident which happened in the very center of the town early this morning when Croat police special forces attacked 80 year-old Dusan Vitas. Vitas had his best clothes on because of the holiday and, as one should, was wearing the decoration of the 1941 veteran. This decoration obviously annoyed the policemen.

Croatian News Agency Chief Appointed

LD3004213191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1834 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Zagreb, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The Croatian government this evening appointed Mirko Bolfek as the chief and executive editor of HINA, the Croatian News Agency.

Bolfek was a journalist and editor of Zagreb television for many years, and in addition worked for TANJUG in Croatian and as a correspondent from Brussels and Vienna.

SDS To Proceed With May Day 'Peace' March

LD3004134891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0946 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Text] Knin, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] is determined to proceed with its plan on 2 May to organize a "peace march" from Titova

Korenica to Plitvice. This means that the SDS will not observe an agreement reached between the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry and the Fifth Military District command to ban gatherings in the region during the May Day holiday.

"We will go about our business, let them go about theirs", the Knin-based SDS main committee stated laconically.

Serbian Radical Leader on Strategy, Party Unity

AU3004115491 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 91 p 8

[Stana Ristic report: "The Radicals Are on the Offensive"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Not a day passes without news appearing in the media that the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] is holding a party promotion somewhere within Serbia. "It can happen that we hold two or even three party promotions in a single day," the party's President Dr. Vojislav Seselj says. He is a new media "star" and an interesting, if not even a controversial personality on our political scene. [passage omitted]

When asked how successful the SRS "offensive" has been so far, Seselj replied:

"We have about 25,000 members. Here we must also add the 15,000 members of the Serbian Chetnik Movement, which is a collective member of the SRS. About 80 city committees of this party exist in Serbia. District committees are organized in Baranja, Western Srem, Slavonija, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Krajina.... Before the communal elections take place in Serbia we will try to 'cover' every community. On Tuesday we will set up a district committee for Kosovo. We have covered a lot of ground," Seselj explained.

Although he appears reasonable, moderate, and willing to explain his stands in detail on television, we could say that when talking to journalists directly, Seselj is more natural and laconic. The Serbian political scene, he said, is becoming simpler. He then explained his statement as follows: In the Serbian opposition only the Serbian Renaissance Movement, the Democratic Party, the Serbian Radical Party, and the Serbian National Renewal, remained in the political "game," while other parties have "dispersed."

Asked whether the SRS will "move toward the center" in the near future, Seselj replied that the SRS never was an extremist party, but that it rather had a pan-Serbian character. He also said that the party advocates that not a single drop of Serbian blood be shed, and is, therefore, peace loving.... Without going into a more detailed analysis of the "direct" answer by Seselj, we can foresee the SRS itself having its own right wing and its own center. Whether the two can be kept together "under one roof" remains to be seen. To recap, in the past Nikola Pasic used to be very successful in preserving the radicals' unity. [passage omitted]

Aleksandar Prlja Appointed POLITIKA Editor

AU3004115591 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Apr 91 p 1

[Excerpt] The Workers Council of the POLITIKA News and Publishing Enterprise yesterday made the unanimous decision to appoint Dr. Aleksandar Prlja, currently acting chief and responsible editor, the new chief and responsible editor of the POLITIKA newspaper.

This appointment followed prior voting by all the employees of the POLITIKA editorial board in which Dr. Aleksandar Prlja was elected in the first round in a secret ballot. The other candidates were Petar Popovic, POLITIKA's current reporter in London, and Dusan Simic, our paper's foreign policy commentator. In the secret ballot, which was the first such ballot not only in the history of POLITIKA but of the entire Yugoslav press, Prlja received more than half the votes in the first round.

POLITIKA's new chief and responsible editor was first of all congratulated by his direct rivals. In a brief concluding speech, Prlja stressed the need to smooth over all divisions without any feeling of revanchism and for all journalists to direct their attention toward POLITIKA's future rise in line with its best democratic traditions. As is usual in such situations, Prlja announced a considerable reconstruction of POLITIKA's editorial team, and expressed support for changes in editorial policy and the appointment of younger people to senior positions in the newspaper. [passage omitted]

Belgrade TU Council Warns Serbian Government

LD2904175691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1343 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Belgrade, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—The Serbian government has failed to meet the obligations and deadlines it assumed for implementing workers' demands, in particular, the demand for the regular payment of a minimum guaranteed income. This conclusion was reached today at a session of the Belgrade Trade Union Council on the basis of many telegrams from collectives throughout the republic that warn that promises made after the 16 April strike are still to be fulfilled.

The Belgrade Trade Union Council has, therefore, called on its negotiating team to make contacts with the government as soon as possible to find out what has been done so far. If this time again no concrete results are forthcoming, the Belgrade Trade Union [Council] will be prepared to resort to all available means of exerting pressure, including a new strike that, according to Bogdan Brkic, Belgrade Trade Union Council's president, will not last for just one day.

Markovic, Slovenia's Peterle Meet in Ljubljana

LD3004131791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2130 GMT 29 Apr 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Apr (TANJUG)—Delegations of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], led by Ante Markovic, and of the Slovene government, led by Lojze Peterle, judging by the assessment at today's news conference, "agreed on more questions than they disagreed on."

Ante Markovic noted that the FEC delegation presented to their collocutors in Slovenia a minumum functioning of the Federation during the transitional period, adding that "much was agreed upon, but that a good deal of topics on which more concrete agreements are yet to come about, have remained." In the first instance this is a matter of the organization of dislocated relations in the unified Yugoslav market and in the foreign currency and monetary system...and in the second instance primarily of the Federal budget, "the paragraphs of which will be examined one by one by a team of experts."

Lojze Peterle agreed with Markovic that the transitional period should be endured in the most painless possible way. He also assessed the fact that the FEC is opening the door to talks on the reduction of the Federal budget as significant. However, he is convinced that the new Federal law on military service "will not contribute to a peaceful outcome of the crisis." Peterle is also critical of the fact that, he says, the FEC is not taking into consideration Slovenia's autonomy demands.

"We believe that it is more sensible to consider the decision on autonomy now rather than when this question is formalized. And we do not agree with the method of governing and the the intervention of the FEC when something happens. Slovenia has decided, and it only remains for the formalization of this act and the taking over of power," Peterle said.

On several occasions Ante Markovic said that the Federal Government does not have the aim of centralization but the establishment of more normal relations and the creation of the preconditions for a peaceful, reform-orientated transition to a new system. Of the financial support from abroad in connection with the "military law", he nevertheless said that the latter was considered in the assembly only after Slovenia had withdrawn from the agreement.

In this way the first part of the news conference was brought to an end, and shortly afterwards the second part began. In fact, because of his obligations, Peterle left the conference auditorium after his statement, and Markovic did the same after him. However, at the request of the journalists Markovic returned and replied to questions. In the first instance he spoke in more detail about what the two delegations had discussed. It was a matter of an agreement to establish relations in the monetary system in which the republican national banks would not loose their autonomy, but it will not be possible for any of them to print money. It was also agreed to establish a market for money and bonds, the linear financial recovery of the banks, the establishment of a foreign exchange market, and the liberalization of foreign exchange transactions with foreign countries. It remained for an agreement to be reached on the budget and on citizens' foreign currency savings up to October 1988, in other words on who will take on the public debt—the Federation or the republics—and if it is the Federation how interest payments would be made and how banks would be financed in connection with this operation.

The federal government believes that funds should be made available to it which can be drawn upon to finance this operation. In the first instance the view is that this should be customs' duties and taxes on tobacco, alcohol, and cigarettes....

Replying to one question regarding the situation in the country as a basis for negotiations, Ante Markovic said that this is a matter of an enormous job that no one has done in Yugoslavia for more than 70 years, but the government is working on this. In this context he spoke about the autonomy of Slovenia, stressing that each part of the country has the right to self-determination. However, these decisions cannot be unilateral and account should be taken also of what others in Yugoslavia, including the Federal institutions, and also the world at large, think about this. Whatever happens, Markovic said, all the republics and agreements on autonomy need time to formalize this in legal terms. This is primarily a matter of balancing debts.

Sometime after the end of this part of the talks Markovic told a small group of journalists, that regarding autonomy each republic would have to go through a transitional period in the event of a possible, unilateral separation. This period would likely last at least five years, Markovic said unofficially.

Paper Examines Slovene Secession Options

AU3004125091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 91 p 10

[S. Sicarov report: "Slovenia's Three Ways to Independence"]

[Text] While everyone has compellingly been amusing himself with setting and undoing the riddle of the current Serbian-Croatian relations, and with betting on one another's brothers with arms, the Slovenes appear to have been hiding and doing things in their own way. At present there are three clearly outlined concepts of Slovenia's independence "in play."

Unilateral and immediate secession is the latest option of Dr. Joze Pucnik. Within Demos, this option is supported by the Social Democratic, the Liberal, and the Peasant Parties. They base their two main reasons for leaving the SFRY before the date set by the plebiscite on causes rather than consequences: the continuous threats

of military intervention and civil war, and the sluggishness and lack of readiness on the part of the government to prepare acts that would transfer sovereign rights from the SFRY to the republics.

It is a public secret that the scheme involving the replacement of Dr. Osterc was in fact meant to impose this option on Peterle, and perhaps lead to the reconstruction of the government and create a chaos in which the coalition parties would be forced to resort to the "adventurism of secession." This is what has not happened yet. What has also not happened is "Pucnik's coup" in some other form, an assembly form. It has been postponed until another opportunity, because Dr. Pucnik is again warning that the option is open all the time. The scenario involving an urgent and extraordinary session of the assembly and an "express" decision on secession has been talked about for some time.

Consentaneous dissociation is the second assembly-verified concept which, whether he likes it or not, is promoted by President Milan Kucan. This concept—if one considers what Kucan calls the "Yugoslav reality without which one cannot [live]," and which also includes regular appearances in the most popular television series called "news conference of the presidents of the Yugoslav republics"—is almost paradoxical. Not only did this option not, but it is certain that it will not, happen within the specified period and under the offered conditions.

Moreover, the experienced politician accustomed to (secret) Yugoslav diplomacy has been insisting that the talks themselves were proof of the republics' statehood and sovereignty and, in doing so, has advocated the principles of confederalisation through the creation of a union of sovereign states. Not only is this the aim of those who resolutely demand dissociation and consentaneous and peaceful separation and legal succession from the SFRY, but it is also in contradictions with the majority view that Slovenia will not take part in the creation of the third Yugoslavia expressed on many occasions in the past.

Normative acquisition of independence [normativno osamostaljenje] (the third concept) is the legal obligation adopted at the plebiscite. This obligation is consistently being implemented by Prime Minister Peterle. Most attention is paid to the deadline —although it is not yet certain whether this is going to be six months after the plebiscite itself (23 June), or six months after the proclamation (26 June)—and consequences. There are the fewest unknowns concerning this concept. The government is preparing normative acts, the so-called secessionist laws, for 14 areas. These laws would give the republic effective power on its territory, and this literally assumes everything from state borders, customs, diplomatic missions, currency, taxes, army, police....

The seriousness of this approach is shown by the engagement of Jeffrey Sachs as the government's adviser for economic independence. An expert group working on this project is allegedly receiving some $600,000. Peterle has also prepared a constitutional law in case Slovenia suddenly decides to secede. Records of all property belonging to the federation have also been made for the event dissociation takes place. Therefore, it appears that the government has all three options under control. It does not, however, have the most important thing, namely the support of political parties. The situation is also highly unpleasant for the prime minister: his government does not enjoy full support in Demos itself.

Gligorov Views Outcome of Ohrid Summit

AU3004072091 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Apr 91 p 5

[D. Nikolic and N. Batkoski report: "Ohrid 'Melted' the Hopes of Brdo"]

[Text] Skopje—Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov yesterday briefed the deputies in the Macedonian Assembly on the fiasco of the Ohrid Yugoslav summit that led to its continuation in Cetinje being postponed.

We did well to adopt the declaration on the sovereignty of Macedonia and the platform on talks on the Yugoslav crisis at the right time. In all talks, they have given us security and a basis of principles from which we have been able to represent and build our stands. These stands have withstood the test of the talks so far, Gligorov said at the beginning.

However, after the illusion that a step forward had been taken in Brdo near Kranj, there came the Ohrid step backwards and Kiro Gligorov's proposal that the Cetinje talks be postponed so everyone would have more time to think.

Because at Brdo near Kranj we were not able to agree on two opposing concepts—a federation or a union of sovereign states—and because there was no willingness to prolong the talks on common functions, Montenegro proposed—and Serbia supported this proposal—that a referendum be organized. It seemed that this was acceptable considering that everyone agreed that the referendum should be held throughout the republics and that citizens should vote so a dispute over the internal borders between the republics would thus be avoided. It could be assumed that the republics' responses would be different but, nevertheless, the negotiators would thus receive the legitimacy to hold further talks and to seek a compromise solution, Gligorov told the deputies.

However, what was agreed upon in Brdo near Kranj was dismantled in Ohrid because Serbia and Montenegro had in the meantime changed their attitude to a referendum.

Serbia now thinks that there is no need for a referendum in Serbia—on which the Serbian Assembly should decide—because Serbia is in favor of Yugoslavia as a united sovereign state. If a part of Yugoslavia wants to secede, it should organize a referendum and when it

becomes a sovereign state and receives international recognition, talks can be held with it on possible interest in a union of sovereign states or any other form of integration. A referendum has thus actually lost all meaning, Gligorov said.

According to Gligorov, the extreme idea is that whoever wants to secede should embark on the painstaking road to international recognition with all the consequences and dangers this entails. As the talks are in this kind of situation, Gligorov asked for them to be postponed at least for a few days, so everyone can think and it can be seen what can be done. Despite the fact that the talks in Ohrid reached a dead end, Gligorov proposed to the deputies that the talks be prolonged because nothing can be solved without dialogue and talks. Gligorov insists that talks be held on the common functions of a future community and not on its name (union of state or federal state) because the name says nothing about the content. Gligorov then asked the republican government to speed up work on preparing all the decisions and documents that could be essential to cope with any kind of undesirable occurrence.

At yesterday's session of the Macedonian Assembly, Nikola Kljusev, president of the republican government, supported the Federal Government's measures, that are realistic to prevent chaos in the country and to avoid reaching an abyss, but he said that some of these measures will hit Macedonia and that he would point this out to Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic at the meeting that will be held this evening in Skopje when Markovic arrives.

In the debate after the speech by the president of the republican Government, a large number of deputies from different political parties supported the republican government's assessments and the measures that have been proposed by the Federal Executive Council.

Montenegro's Bulatovic on Country's Future

AU0105090591 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 20 Apr 91 p 17

[Interview with Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic by Dimka B. Ilkova; place and date not given: "Not a Born Federalist, But a Convinced Federalist"]

[Excerpts] Momir Bulatovic will be written down in our history books as the youngest in the group of six republican leaders who are taking part in making crucial decisions about the future of Yugoslavia at a time when the country is being shaken to its foundations. He is one of the people who consider the decision to hold a general referendum to be the beginning of a breakdown of this country and has frequently expressed great regret about that. Although the optimism he has frequently expressed that Yugoslavia can survive as a federation within its present borders has been slowly giving way, he is still firmly convinced that the opposite option—confederation—inevitably leads to much greater problems. This is why the first question was how he sees the future of Montenegro, the only one of the six republics taking part in the talks not to have a special declaration, a new constitution, or a plebiscite held on its own sovereignty, the reason why Bulatovic is much criticized by the Montenegrin opposition.

[Bulatovic] The program of the political party that has won a large majority at the Montenegrin elections clearly establishes a place for Montenegro in both variants. We have defined Montenegro as a country, an equal member of the Yugoslav federation, and a state that can transfer a part of its sovereignty to the federation. The variant involving the breakup of Yugoslavia defines Montenegro as a sovereign state that will independently decide about the degree to which it will be connected with other Yugoslav peoples and states. We are not afraid and can easily reply to the frequent remarks of the opposition that the fact that our Assembly has not adopted the papers declaring Montenegro's sovereignty could threaten our republic. Our full awareness and knowledge of history and our interpretations of it tell us that in its essential meaning, sovereignty is far too important to be attained by a declaration, but should be achieved through history, tradition, and the consciousness that is frimly rooted in this people and region. [passage omitted]

[Ilkova] Which part of republican sovereignty should be renounced and transferred to the federation and what would be the differences between that federation and the present state?

[Bulatovic] If one prefers a democratic agreement about Yugoslavia's future, it is obviously impossible to define which part of the republican sovereignty and powers should be transferred to the community. This was not the point of our proposals to preserve Yugoslavia as a joint state. What we want is a minimum of agreement reached in flexible talks within the state of Yugoslavia as an international subject with internationally recognized borders. The essence of the proposals made by the representatives of Montenegro and Serbia is the greatest possible readiness to discuss the tendencies that are legally and legitimately present on our territory. They are in fact the modern world megatrends that insist on all national and narrower local specificities being given full expression, something which will give an additional meaning to the sovereignty of citizens as well. Apart from that, we want to retain this state but are ready to talk about its functions and to build a more up-to-date, more modern, and more democratic state than this one with which we are all very dissatisfied. I am sorry that this move of good will has not been met with much understanding and readiness to hold dialogue on that basis. Everything shows that the political forces whose positions are opposite to ours have remained "entrenched" in those positions and that they have no strength to at least accept to continue constructive talks after we overcome the dilemma: the state, "yes" or "no." In any case, both history and political practice have

shown that it is possible to accept the sign of good will for preserving Yugoslavia politically and still retain the political right to have one's own option. After three or five years, one can see whether our attempts were in vain, and then use the final weapon of completely dividing and deserting Yugoslavia. The moment when somebody secedes, not only does he run the risk of encountering problems, but he also has to take into consideration the fact that he will not enjoy the old degree of understanding from the people whom he abandoned and with whom he openly disagreed.

[Ilkova] How do you see the role of the Presidency in these crucial moments?

[Bulatovic] The Presidency, just like all other federal services, has reached an impasse and is incapable of making decisions, and even when it does make a decision, it is incapable of completing its activity. The fact that the presidents of the six Yugoslav republics are meeting does not mean that the role of the SFRY Presidency and the federal bodies is being neglected. In all our activities so far, we have been advocating respect for the principle of legality, because the opposite leads to anarchy, something that we are all trying to avoid at the moment. However, our meetings have no pretensions to solving things. In my opinion, the fact that contacts within the SFRY Presidency have been continued and that the Presidency and the Federal Government are going to appear before the SFRY Assembly means that a continuity has been established in solving problems at the federal level, which I consider to be particularly important. However, acting in conformity with the conclusions of the Montenegrin Assembly and irrespective of my personal opinion, I am obliged to have talks with all legal and legitimate representatives of our republics and these various forms of contacts in times of such great political dilemma can do no harm. There can be harm only if we absolutize any of the possible forms and if we say that the meeting of the presidents of the six republics automatically means accepting the confederate option and is an attempt on the part of these six people to grab power. As far as I am concerned, I assert that I have no such intentions. [passage omitted]

[Ilkova] Do you personally see any possibility of Montenegro and Serbia creating a federation or uniting, something often mentioned in some political circles?

[Bulatovic] This will depend upon the results of the coming referendum. I have already said that we cannot make any forecasts about how people are going to vote. This depends heavily on the current developments on the political scene. Let me remind you that in a situation of irrational passions and divisions, Albanians will certainly vote against anything favored by the Serbs, Croats will also vote in an opposite way, and so on—there are thousands of such examples in our country divided by nationalistic fury. In any case, as a sovereign and independent country, Montenegro will decide in favor of connecting itself with other peoples and republics. This right to decide, I repeat, belongs to citizens and it is our obligation to inform them about the consequences of one variant, the other variant, or any possible variant, something about which they should responsibly decide.

[Ilkova] Do you still hold the so far firm belief that any option for Yugoslavia's setup other than the federation within present borders will lead to bloodshed?

[Bulatovic] Realistically speaking, the bloodshed has already happened. This country is already living through the opening stage of a civil war, and I hope that these tragic and fortunately individual cases and circumstances will have a sufficiently sobering impact. In bilateral talks we already asserted that we are not born federalists, but convinced federalists and that we demand to be assured that our fear of mutual clashes on Yugoslav territory is unfounded and that these conflicts can be avoided if confederation is accepted. However, what we have seen so far only confirms our fear. We have warned the Croatian leadership that confederation is bound to bear one Knin Krajina in every republic, because our Yugoslavia is so mixed up in the ethnic sense and has no ethnically homogeneous groups or territories. However, we received the most democratic answer that "we shall solve our problems by using the police, so you are welcome to solve yours with the police as well." There is no room for democracy there, and I tell you that the present situation and the fact that the conflicts are so harsh represent sobering factors and that the initiative we are offering everybody in Yugoslavia can solve the questions that are so important for every citizen of this country. [passage omitted]

[Ilkova] Is there opposition outside the Montenegrin Assembly, does it have any influence on the present authorities, and have you thought about the possibility of the Montenegrin opposition forming a shadow government, as has recently been announced by Dr. Ljubisa Stankovic?

[Bulatovic] We really do need an opposition, because we have a convincing majority in the assembly, something that makes us often succumb to triumphal euphoria and use force as a way to argue. We would like the opposition parties to actively analyze our proposals. It would make me happy if the opposition formed a shadow government, because if the political rules of the game are followed and political wisdom maintained—something we insist upon—this would in fact mean a contribution to the work of the present government and could also mean a relaxation of tension in some spheres. If the rules of this political game are followed in relations between the ruling and opposition parties and if this results in general well-being in Montenegro, then it makes sense having a multiparty system. If what is involved is an uncompromising struggle, attacks against individuals, and if it is made impossible for the present government to make any move whatsoever, then all this would be meaningless. [passage omitted]

Montenegrin Parties Sign Sovereignty Declaration

AU3004180391 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Apr 91 p 1

[HINA report: "Declaration on the Sovereignty of Montenegro"]

[Text] Titograd—On 19 April nine Montenegrin opposition parties signed a Declaration on the Sovereignty of Montenegro, whose adoption in the Montenegrin Assembly has been prevented twice by the communist majority. The declaration says: "With this constitutionally significant act, Montenegro, as a state of all its completely equal citizens, regardless of their ethnic, religious, and political affiliation, and as a national state of Montenegrins in the historical and state sense, proclaims its sovereignty and territorial integrity within the present republican borders. All past documents are annulled that do not acknowledge Montenegro's equal position in a community of Yugoslav peoples or negates its state and national independence."

Journalists were told that this relates above all to the manipulated decisions of the 1918 Podgorica Assembly by which Montenegro lost its statehood and was joined to Serbia.

The signatories of the declaration are: the Montenegrin Democratic Party [Crnogorska Demokratska Partija], the Federalist Movement [Federalisticki Pokret], the Democratic Alliance of Independent Businessmen [Demokratski Savez Samostalnih Privrednika], the Yugoslav People's Party [Jugoslavenska Narodna Stranka], the Independent Organization of Communists of Montenegro [Nezavisna Organizacija Komunista Crne Gore], the Liberal Alliance [Liberalni Savez], the Party of Socialists [Partija Socijalista], the Social Democratic Party [Socijaldemokratska Stranka], and the Party of Ethnic Equality in Plav [Stranka Nacionalne Ravnopravnosti]. Even though all the registered parties apart from the ruling one were invited to sign, the declaration was not signed by the Socialist Party.

Bosnia Census Shows Muslims Increasing

LD3004175791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1241 GMT 30 Apr 91

[Summary] Sarajevo, 30 Apr (TANJUG)—According to the recent census, there are 4,355,645 inhabitants in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is 6.5 percent increase from the previous census [in 1981]. The figure was announced during the news conference in the republic's Institute of Statistics today. Muslims are in the majority; they represent 43.77 percent of the population. Serbs represent 31.46 percent, Croats 17.34 percent, Yugoslavs 5.5 percent, and others 2.1 percent. Compared with the previous census the number of Croats, Serbs, and Yugoslavas went down, while the number of Muslims went up.

Muslim Council Wants State in Balkans

AU3004115291 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Apr 91 p 6

[S. M. report: "Centuries-Old Dream"]

[Text] Bratunac— All the rumors and speculations that a Muslim National Council for Bosnia-Hercegovina [MNVBIH] might be set up came true on the first day of Bairam [16 April] in Bratunac. The organizers of this meeting, at which the Muslim National Council was to be formed, first tried to hold it on the Bratunac football field, but because very few citizens of Muslim nationality turned up, the organizers moved to the village of Konjevic Polje near Bratunac, and formed the MNVBIH there.

It is stressed in the MNVBIH political platform that this council was, above everything, formed with the intention of establishing a Muslim state on the Balkan peninsula, which is a centuries-old dream of all Muslims.

It is emphasized that the MNVBIH will strive to establish a Muslim state within the borders of the present Bosnia-Hercegovina, to set up the Muslim Armed Forces (MOS), and to take over a full legal authority and responsibility for the sovereignty of the kinship state of Muslims and other peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Socialist Party Leaders View Balkan Cooperation

AU3004120791 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 19-20 Apr 91 p 2

[Interview with Predrag Govedarovic, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Yugoslavia, and Mirko Djurkovecki [name as published], secretary for international affairs, by Ruen Krumov in Sofia, date not given; individual respondents not identified—"Is Yugoslavia Disintegrating?"—first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Excerpts] The leaders of Yugoslavia's social democracy visited Sofia. We took the opportunity to interview Predrag Govedarovic, general secretary, and Mirko Djurkovecki, secretary on international issues, about Yugoslavia's future.

[Krumov] The situation in Serbia, the largest Yugoslav republic, is crucial to Yugoslavia's political development. How do you assess the situation?

[Answer] Precisely as in Bulgaria, the Serbian Communist Party under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic renamed itself overnight into the Socialist Party, but nothing changed. The entire repressive apparatus remains in the hands of the party, which until recently was the only party in Serbia. The Election Law was worked out by the old Serbian Assembly, which is completely dominated by the Communists. The newly created opposition parties were completely deprived of the opportunity to conduct election campaigns. They were allocated very brief TV time, and the entire press is

the hands of the Serbian Communists. As is well known, the Yugoslav Army is led by Serbian and Montenegrin Communists—sons and grandsons of Tito's comrades. [passage omitted]

[Krumov] Do you think that it is necessary to establish closer cooperation between the social democratic parties in the Balkans?

[Answer] We already established good relations with the Panhellenic Socialist Movement led by Andreas Papandreou. We obtained Petur Dertliev's agreement in principle to such cooperation. We propose that representatives of the social democratic parties of Bulgaria, Greece, and Yugoslavia meet first in Salonika, and then expand our cooperation by including the socialist democratic parties of the other Balkan countries.

National Debt Currently $16.017 Billion

AU3004095791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Apr 91 p 2

[V. Vignjevic report: "Country's Debt Stands at $16.017 Billion"]

[Excerpt] At the end of last year Yugoslavia owed other countries $16.017 billion, excluding short-term loans. Out of this amount, the Federation, that is, the National Bank of Yugoslavia is the guarantor of $12.555 billion. Out of the total debt, international financial organizations are owed $3.556 billion, foreign governments $5.733 billion, and foreign commercial banks $5.260 billion.

This data was presented in a report that the National Bank of Yugoslavia sent to the delegates of the SFRY Assembly. The report also states that the remainder of out debt amounts to $1.468 billion. [passage omitted]